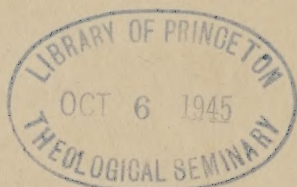


CHRISTIANITY

Where You Live

Kenneth
UNDERWOOD

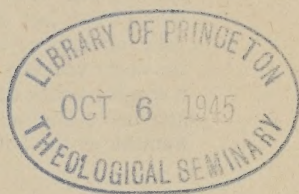


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Christianity where you live

KENNETH UNDERWOOD

*Christianity
Where You Live*



FRIENDSHIP PRESS • NEW YORK

KENNETH UNDERWOOD was born in Wellsburg, West Virginia, and was graduated from Bethany College, Bethany, West Virginia, in 1940. He continued his study at the School of Journalism of the University of Wisconsin and received the degree of Master of Arts in 1941. His special field of interest in graduate work was religious journalism and his thesis was a survey of the business and editorial aspects of thirty-three contemporary religious magazines. Mr. Underwood next entered Yale Divinity School, from which he was graduated in 1944 with high honors. During his years in New Haven, Mr. Underwood served as publicity consultant for the Home Missions Council of North America, for whom he prepared a handbook entitled *The Why and How of Missions Publicity*. Mr. Underwood has also reported religious news to two daily newspapers and a labor weekly and has written for many religious and secular journals. He is now the managing editor of *Social Action* and a Dwight-Hooker graduate fellow at Yale University. He is an ordained minister of the Disciples of Christ communion.

"Discussion and Program Suggestions for Youth on 'The Church among Uprooted Americans,'" by Maud Upton, 25 cents, has been prepared for use with
CHRISTIANITY WHERE YOU LIVE

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Printed in the United States of America

TO SMITTY

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Preface

THIS book is a report on Protestant church work in camp and war industry communities, migrant and sharecropper areas, factories and labor unions, and wherever the going is tough in America. It is a story about the church in a period during which headlines were being made around the clock and more bombs and babies, brothels and boomtowns than ever before were being produced in America.

After returning in 1944 from three trips totaling eighteen thousand miles, I began writing this book to a soldier friend—Smitty, cadet in the Army Air Force—a young man slightly disillusioned, full of passion for treating people fairly, and asking only for a man-sized job after the war.

Smitty, with whom I had often talked, wanted a running reportorial account of what the church is doing where people live. That called for listening to and worshiping and talking with anybody who had found religion meaningful or had given it up with reasons—businessmen, editors, labor organizers, migrants, sharecroppers, ministers, and soldiers. Smitty did not want a cheerleader's manual for the Christian team; he was seeking an honest appraisal of what the church is doing now, of work to be done, and of the resources the church has for such work. The assignment was not easy, I discovered, for most people do not talk readily about reli-

gion; professionals talk too readily. Therefore, Smitty's interest was in the broader social movements of which the church is inescapably a part. Smitty had learned in the army the meaning of being caught up in a vast impersonal organization over which he as an individual had no control or understanding. He also wanted me to place the people and projects described against the general background of the church so that he could tell whether I was reporting an isolated experiment in the church or a wide-scale program.

I have no nice platitudes to give in this book. It is no high-sounding tract on whether the church is the salvation of the world or is needing a world of salvation. Mostly it is the story of men and women who are living their faith courageously under all kinds of misfortune and testing, and who are intensely concerned about the future of Christianity in the world.

How objective all this is I do not know. But religion, as I told Smitty, is something that can be reported only from *within* a faith. A reporter cannot understand the Christian experience of other people unless he has had a similar experience. There is a final leap from the impartial reporter to the participating worshiper, and I, as a Christian, made that leap many times during my travels. I found the "beat" or spiritual tempo of a Negro revival service, was caught up in it, and, as the Negro minister says, "saved" by it. And I worshiped in Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis and understood why someone had written in its guest book, "Thank God for this monument to faith, hope, and love."

When the secretaries of the Home Missions Council of

North America, Miss Edith E. Lowry and Dr. Mark A. Dawber, offered me the opportunity to make my first trip in the summer of 1942, they mapped out no itinerary. I was free to go any place that promised a story of grassroots Christianity and to interpret the material as I pleased. The fact that the Council sponsored the trip does not necessarily constitute its endorsement of the projects described nor of the opinions expressed in this book written for the Friendship Press.

I was given field workers' reports that contained material for a hundred articles, short stories, and movie scenarios of lone and noble fights opposing hatred rising out of the fury of the war and discrimination against the many forgotten minority groups in our country. Then I asked executive secretaries of denominational boards, seminary professors, magazine editors, religious writers, where a man ought to go in America to find Christianity at its best and at its worst. From these sources I took the names of places that I wanted to visit.

The main conviction that resulted from the thousands of miles traveled is that the church must develop many of the isolated experiments that I report here into wide-scale religious movements if it is to capture the imagination and loyalty of the masses of American people. The problem of meeting the economic and social needs of the nation's people after the war is in great part a problem of mustering the religious and moral resources of America. We are aware that our country has the funds, the materials, and the knowledge to meet the physical needs of eleven million returning

veterans and fifteen to twenty million people uprooted from their wartime homes and employment by demobilization. The question is whether the nation has the moral will to do the job.

When a community has social cankers, it is victim, first of all, of a moral crisis. The responsibility for meeting that crisis rests with our churches. Can they be the nerves along which the needs of men are felt and answered? Can they be true to a gospel that seeks to rule all of life, or will they try to confine it to a smaller and smaller area of life that they call "sacred"? The influence of the church in the future in countless corners of America will be determined by its members. The Smittys of America must do their part. The real secret of the influence of the churches is in the practice of Christianity where you live.

KENNETH UNDERWOOD

New Haven, Connecticut

October 17, 1944

CHAPTER 1

Rural Pastors Go to School

My journey began in the Alabama community of Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver, where one of America's well known colleges is located. Here Protestant churches were training ministers to rebuild rural communities, not with worn-out slogans, but with a religious compassion and a social strategy close to the soil.

Tuskegee Institute was not exactly waiting breathlessly for me to tell its story to the world when I arrived. Marc Connelly was there collecting material for another Negro picture. A Hollywood movie director was looking for good "Negro types." Stanley High was preparing an article on George Washington Carver. A documentary film man was lugging a camera into the guest house; and Mrs. Roosevelt had just left.

DEEP THEOLOGY, HOMILETICS, AND AGRICULTURE

I arose at six o'clock the first morning to make the opening class of the School for Rural Pastors and by evening was groggy from twelve hours of lectures on "deep theology," agriculture in the Old Testament, farm economics, homi-

letics, oratory, home beautification, health, and interchurch cooperation—all interlarded with free-for-all debates, singing of spirituals, study, and ball playing. By evening the group was so “charged, surcharged, and recharged” with new ideas that any one of them could have taken a broken-down country church and made it into a sanctuary of beauty and meaning.

I talked with several of the sixty Negro ministers who had come to the school on five-dollar scholarships. They were all good ministers. They came in worn seersucker suits and Prince Albert coats, and all of them had the ability to keep dignified on three hundred and fifty dollars a year because they believed in the importance of the message they preached. They had come to the school willingly, for they were on the run and knew it.

The other leaders in their communities, they told me, come bearing gifts. The county agent with an A.B. degree brings better crops. The county nurse with a B.S. degree brings better health. The Farm Security Administration man with a government title brings money for better mules. And they? They, with a grade school education, bring a sermon and whooping on Sunday, and often a Bible they cannot read. As one of the ministers said, “We have no education. We have to use our heads.”

These men know that the church remains the best-loved institution of the Negro. Has it not nourished him, sheltered him, developed his leaders, struggled for his rights, and reminded him of his duties? Certainly it has been the center of his independent existence, for nine out of ten

Negro churches are not related to any white congregation. Yet, these ministers fear that the church is losing its position of leadership in many communities. They need much help with their youth. The young people to whom these ministers preach are now better educated and more conscious of social and racial discriminations. And they are demanding that the church discard many of the worship and preaching practices carried over from slave days. The rural ministers come to Tuskegee seeking sermon material that will meet their needs and information about recreation programs.

One tall, vigorous minister had not played baseball with his young people because his church elders felt that a preacher should have a funereal solemnity about him. The school had changed some of his views on proper ministerial conduct. When he played ball at Tuskegee for the first time in eleven years, he cried.

One of the greatest needs of these ministers is help on church finances. They are interested in church farms and Lord's Acre projects that will aid them in earning a livelihood. Many are "tumbleweed" preachers, rolling from church to church, never settling down. Others are "drummer" or "suitcase" preachers, coming out from town, where they work during the week, to preach a rip-roaring sermon on "Judgment Is Coming," and then going back, leaving the people with their woes.

HOW TO HARNESS A REVIVAL

Tuskegee's School for Rural Pastors had a master of social evangelism to help ministers develop sermons and programs

for their people. He was J. C. Heinrich, a returned missionary from Martinpur, India, who had developed a program for "harnessing revivals into a constructive technique for improving the community." Mr. Heinrich is a strong, robust man, wind-burned and with a farmer's hands. His story of harnessing revivals began with manure piles.

"The Indian Christian is always deeply moved by his religious services. All the enthusiasm and passion for Christian life wells up in him," he said. "During one of our religious festivals I decided to direct this energy into a constructive and simple task that I had been trying to get done for a year. It was the removal of manure piles from the streets of the village to the fields where they could be used as fertilizer. To my amazement the people, fired by the religious revival, quickly did the job.

"During the next revival of Christian enthusiasm I introduced new and improved farming methods that the people had been unwilling to try heretofore. They took to the idea immediately. Next came tree plantations, then flower cultivation, and something constructive with each new wave of religious interest.

"When a man is sick way down inside from being starved or beaten out, his religion doesn't express itself along an even keel. It bursts out in great peaks of devotion and hope. When that revival wave comes the minister must have more than the love of God to talk about. He must have a plan. It must be a program that will help the people make their community a better place in which to live. It may call for cleaning up the town, building a recreational center, beau-

tifying the church, or organizing the people into some form of self-government."

For Mr. Heinrich, changing social attitudes is a matter of timing. During a revival meeting near Tuskegee, he introduced a slogan for diversified farming: "A garden and a cow, two pigs and a sow, twenty-five hens and a rooster, and you'll live better than you uster." One Tuskegee teacher believes that Mr. Heinrich dealt a greater blow to one-crop farming than county agents had delivered in months. The church's idea of rebirth as an intense emotional and intellectual experience was given both a personal and a social context by Mr. Heinrich. He showed how social action could grow out of a religious experience and could be controlled and constructively used because its energies had not been created in an atmosphere of hate or violence.

Across America Mr. Heinrich sees disinherited minority groups experiencing great moments of religious hope and strength, but with few ministers or mission workers trained to channel the spontaneous energy into constructive action. But there are often rabble-rousers on hand, says Mr. Heinrich, to lead these people to destruction and despair.

"THE ANSWER IS IN MY BIBLE"

Dr. George Washington Carver made his last speech to a group of ministers at this School for Rural Pastors. Standing like a "token of the world's remedy" before them, he said, "People come with scientific books to discover how I do my work, but the answer is only in my heart and in my Bible. . . . When we sow corn, we get corn; when we sow

hate, we get hate, and all we are sowing now is hate. The world dies by hatred today, for it can live only by love." He concluded by quoting for ten minutes Bible passages that had ruled his life. "In all thy ways acknowledge him, and he will direct thy paths" (*Proverbs* 3:6). "I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me" (*Philippians* 4:13). These were the verses with which he began his work each day in the laboratory whose products have enriched the lives of millions.

CHAINS THE PAST HAS FORGED

Let there be no illusions about the program of this pastors' school, for the people who run it have none. There are communities in which the economic level is so low that the minister will never be able to "revitalize" the church, no matter how much the School for Rural Pastors may teach him. The minister is beating a dead horse. I saw parts of Alabama where it seemed as though some great monster had tramped through, squeezing the life out of homes and churches and throwing them aside. County agents showed me dozens of dead churches, and pointed out some of the people who used to attend. Dirt and heat, hoecake and fat-back had drained their energy and hope. I watched a dilapidated wagon being pulled by mules down a gutted road. In it sat a family of sharecroppers, their eyes glazed, their faces expressionless. A training plane from a near-by army camp zoomed overhead. The feudal past and modern today are often close in America.

It will take a program of national and regional planning

to break the chains the past has forged. The Catholic Rural Life Conference and several of the Protestant home mission boards are saying that at least two million southern rural people now on marginal land need to be relocated on soil that offers some hope of livelihood. And that is a national job. "The South needs to face the nation and the nation to face the South." Most of the problems of the southern church and its people are due to the unequal distribution of the nation's wealth. In 1939, the annual income per person in the South was \$319 as against \$610 for the nation. While forty-two per cent of the national income goes to the northeastern section of the United States, eleven southern states receive nine.

PROBLEM OF THE JERICHO ROAD

Every minister and mission worker at Tuskegee was faced with what Professor Liston Pope, of Yale Divinity School, calls the "age-old problem of the Jericho Road." It looms on every mission front. Shall the church bind up the wounds of the victim lying by the side of the road or go after those who committed the crime? Shall the church merely bind up the wounds of sharecroppers and impoverished tenant farmers with programs of education for ministers, of church beautification, of leisure-time activities? Or shall it support through its press, pulpits, mission and social action agencies those groups and individuals advocating specific projects that will, in the eyes of church leaders, offer the most hope for the improvement of the sharecropper's plight? Such projects would include abolition of the poll tax, organization of ten-

ants into unions, readjustment of the tenant credit systems, and removal of discriminatory economic practices toward the South. The answer the School for Rural Pastors gives is that the church must do both. It must bind up the wounds and work toward the removal of conditions that produced the wounds.

During the war this nation experienced the greatest internal migration of people it has ever known. Almost overnight many rural churches were deserted as farm workers moved to the city to make the ships and arms of war. Other rural churches suddenly found themselves surrounded by factories and emergency housing projects, and called upon for three or four services each Sunday. Ministers who had been trained in the schools for rural pastors were able to adapt to the emergency. They had learned to develop co-operative parishes and to organize community resources.

Some rural sociologists predict that the mass movements of agricultural people in America have just begun. If there is lack of employment in industries and the armed forces, hundreds of thousands of people will go back to subsistence farms. Meanwhile, the increasing mechanization of agricultural production and the efficient use of agricultural labor learned during the war will cut the need for agricultural laborers. Some authorities estimate that after the war two to five million individuals will not be needed on the land, if we go back to the production level of 1940 for food, tobacco, and cotton. In 1943 America's farm labor supply was fifty-four per cent of that available from 1935 to 1939. Yet we harvested banner crops.

The schools for rural pastors suggest a way of mobilizing local leadership wherever people need guidance in adjusting to postwar movements in agriculture. It is a means of commandeering local men and women who have new ideas and can tell them with conviction. It is also a means of helping people stranded in a local situation to see their plight in terms of national and international trends and problems.

A tragedy that stalks the institute program is lack of money and leadership. The entire program of the Home Missions Council of North America in this field, for instance, was conducted on the ridiculously low budget of \$15,000 in 1944 (only \$8,000 was spent in 1942). Each year that small sum is stretched to provide for twenty-nine schools reaching eight hundred Negro rural ministers; yet there are thousands more who need the program. With this money the Council also provides institutes for public school teachers and for rural church women.

The financial problem of the rural church is also the problem of the city church. Studies indicate that more than two-thirds of those who join city churches by letter come from town and country churches. The majority of lay leaders and ministers in city churches also come from communities of fewer than one thousand people. If the city church wants members and a religious population, it must help support rural work. Given money and leadership, the church could devise institutes for every type of community leader that would improve hundreds of rural areas.

A Fivefold Plan and a College on Wheels

THE director of the Tuskegee School for Rural Pastors was a smiling, soft-spoken minister from Fort Valley, Georgia, the Reverend V. A. Edwards. He has under way in five counties of Georgia what he calls a "fivefold church-centered program of rural reconstruction." It starts, as Mr. Edwards says, "where the people are."

In each community Mr. Edwards has organized five committees: religion, agriculture and home economics, health, education, social life and recreation. He puts on these committees the best informed and most interested people he can find. For the committeemen and minister, he has a "Year's Program for Rural and Village Churches," so set up that if followed day by day it will eventually produce an effective church operating on all five fronts. This program includes a religious census, Health Week and Public School Day, the study of community problems, ways to help people find guidance in the Bible for the solution of personal problems, farmers' conferences, and education of youth leaders, plus

one hundred and fifty other very carefully worked out items.

Mr. Edwards has combined the best of religion, sociology, and economics in this master plan for rural reconstruction. He has a questionnaire called "Do You Know Your Community?" by which ministers can check their knowledge of judges, teachers, county agents, and other people who can influence the lives of their church members.

He draws about him ministers who have not had educational opportunities. He teaches them in informal classes what he learned in college and seminary. These men in turn develop the five point program in their churches and often gather about them other ministers who are taught the "know-how" of making their churches centers of community and individual betterment. V. A. Edwards would be the last person to claim that his work is a triumphant march to Zion. His work is difficult and the results it brings are tortuously slow in appearing.

Mr. Edwards found church people hungry to find out what the church stands for. Some wanted an opportunity to develop their own worship services and litanies. In one church Mr. Edwards has developed a labor sacrament in which each farmer presents a portion of the fruits of his fields to be blessed and returned. Moreover the communion sacrament has become both an individual and a collective symbol. Mr. Edwards has attempted to develop a new sense of Christianity penetrating the whole life of the farm community, in which no man who has taken communion would exploit his neighbor, in which each Christian represents the ideals and purposes of Christianity in his daily work.

WANTED: YOUTH WHERE THE GOING IS TOUGHEST

The most significant influence in Forsythe, Georgia, is Mr. Edwards himself—a well educated young man, recruited by the church to do a highly specialized job. He does not look upon his rural parish as a way station on the road to a big city parsonage. The people know that he is staying with them until his job is done. He knows more humanity than homiletics. The church needs thousands more young men like him, trained in Christian ideas and purposes; equipped with techniques for studying communities, for discovering and meeting those needs; and taught to interpret the Christian meaning of life in terms that people will understand. “We are searching for men and women who will be symbols of fearless social thinking and action, grounded in manual work and life renewed in God,” said one group of ministers who were recruiting rural leaders.

Seminaries are cooperating with agricultural schools in leadership education. One seminary dean told me that in the future there must be “men and women trained not only in theology and Bible, but in working in labor organizations, politics, journalism, and race relations.” He is asking that the churches recruit young men and women returning from the armed forces by outlining specific jobs that need to be done, and that the training to be offered by the churches and the schools prepare them for peacetime religious service. These men and women will in turn draw leaders already in the field around them, as Mr. Edwards did, to teach them how to preach the gospel to minority groups and in tension

areas in America. "The great need now is for young people who see these new opportunities of work within the church and, believe it or not, make the church see the need more clearly," said Mr. Edwards. "The church must start where so many people are—at the bottom."

FARMERS' COLLEGE ON WHEELS

V. A. Edwards' program and the schools for rural pastors are two ways of taking the church where people live. Tuskegee has another, called the "Booker T. Washington Farmers' College on Wheels."

I caught up with the movable school near Decatur, Alabama. It had arrived at a small, three-room, weatherbeaten shack surrounded by weeds struggling to grow in Alabama clay. Holes in the windows had been stuffed with rags. An overturned bucket served as the porch step. There were no toilet facilities on the place, no screens, no paint on the house. I saw that sharecropper shack transformed in two days from a place to stay into a home in which to live. The landlord didn't suddenly become a benefactor, it wasn't a Busy Bee Club good turn nor a W P A project. The sharecroppers did the job, with the help of their neighbors, at a cost of sixty-five dollars.

A TRUCK, A STAFF, AND A SIMPLE IDEA

Behind the making of that home is a road-worn truck equipped with farm and household utensils; the guiding genius of T. M. Campbell, field agent of the United States Department of Agriculture; a staff of four trained workers;

and the simple idea of calling in the people of a community to help make over a neighbor's house while learning to make over their own. The workers are a county agent who teaches improved methods of farming; a home economics expert; a registered nurse; a man skilled in carpentry and rural housing; and, usually, the local pastor.

By nine o'clock in the morning two hundred men, women, and children had come to that farmhouse by oxen, plow mule, wagon, and a few cars. School began with a brief religious service and a talk on the purpose of the school. The speaker also put in a plea for cleanliness: "The preacher'll do the baptizing for you, but he hasn't time to do the bathing for you."

Under the direction of the home demonstration agent the women got busy on the house. The floors were scrubbed. White curtains were made and hung at the windows. Rugs fashioned from fertilizer sacks, cornstalks, and tree bark dye were laid.

A fireless cooker was constructed and put to immediate use in the preparation of a balanced dinner. The chief advantage of the cooker is that a woman can have a hot meal ready to serve when she comes in from the fields. The women learned that orange crates make good dish closets, and nail kegs efficient water coolers.

Negro mothers, sitting in a semicircle with babies in arms, observed the nurse bathe a child properly, watched it being dressed in clean white clothing. Three midwives were present and were given practical advice, such as how to use rubber gloves in their work.

The farmers gathered in groups at noon to eat their lunch and discuss the work. In the afternoon demonstrations on pruning and spraying of fruit trees were given.

By four o'clock one group had cleaned the front yard, planted flower seeds, and set out trees and shrubbery transferred from a woods close by. A walk had been laid off. The pig pen, which was formerly almost against the well, had been moved back. The well had been built up and white-washed.

Another class had made repairs on the house. They had screened the windows and doors and made steps to the porch. The next day they would whitewash the outside of the house and the kitchen. They had selected the location for a sanitary toilet to be built the next day.

Classes in preserving eggs, laundering, making soap, fly-spray, cheese, all to cut down household expenses, would be held tomorrow. The nurse would teach each person to make an individual drinking cup, an indirect way of getting rid of the family dipper.

By four o'clock the people were ready for recess. For the first time many of these rural folk took part in organized play. When night came, a motion picture machine was set up and some of the farmers saw their first movie. A phonograph provided a program of music. The school day was closed with a hymn of thanksgiving and the benediction by the minister.

When the movable school left a day later, the home had become a model and inspiration for the community. Most important of all, it had proved to these people that they

could make a home beautiful with their own hands. That is the key to the success of the movable school in lifting the level of these families.

The movable school starts where the people are. At the school I attended the home demonstration agent did not tell how to decorate bedrooms. She spoke on "The Importance of Undressing before Going to Bed." She didn't discuss color combinations for the dining table. She told about the fun her family had eating together instead of taking food from the stove and going off to "wolf" it down alone.

The nurse must compete with "voodoo" charms for colds and the meaningless chanting of *Ezekiel* 16:6 over the heads of children to stop nosebleeds.

PERFORMING A MIRACLE

One cannot easily generalize about sharecroppers—Negroes and whites who pay their rent by sharing their crops with their landlord. Most of the people reached by this school are uneducated and impoverished. Many appear lazy, indifferent, and thriftless. But they are simply sick, mentally and physically sick, from long years of semi-starvation due to inadequate diet, and worst of all from a total loss of hope. Their life has been such that failure is always expected. They have been mortgaging their homes and their lives year after year only to be told after each crop is sold that they "almost broke even." For many just to succeed at something is a miracle. The movable school helps them perform that miracle. The school makes it possible for them to create with their own hands a home that offers a touch of

real beauty and is not a disease trap for their children.

Other sharecroppers have no sense of being overworked or persecuted. They are proud of their ability to do hard physical labor and to take care of themselves. They do not want strangers coming in with a "well, now we are going to save you poor things" attitude. Rather they say, "If you have information on better ways of living, let's have them. Work with us and we'll get them."

Government organizations once went around with lumber and put up sanitary privies for the farmers. When they came back the next year they sometimes found the structures being used to store cotton. Cows given to farmers had been allowed to starve, pigs to be eaten by worms. The lot of the man furthest down, the College on Wheels has clearly shown, can be improved only if he grows with physical and economic improvements. The man must participate in the remaking of his home if he is to keep the new way of life.

I wanted to make sure that the apparent effectiveness of this school wasn't an illusion. I went back into the same community two weeks later and found three homes that had been whitewashed, nine women who reported making rugs, and two families that had put steps to porches and landscaped their yards. Even the hairless pigs that had been treated in a demonstration were getting hair on their bodies again. It was no illusion.

The movable school has had its greatest success in areas of Alabama where small farmers still cling precariously to ownership of a bit of land. In the Delta areas farther west where companies and absentee landlords farm thousands of

acres as "factories in the field," using the latest mechanical equipment and hundreds of day laborers, there is no hope for the revival of small farm ownership. Agriculture on the Delta is mass production.

Several mission workers believe that this "farmers' college" may offer even greater promise for working with poor people on the move in America than the institutes. The church sent three of its young men to travel with the College on Wheels to learn methods that could be used in reclaiming stricken churches.

The Reverend Harry V. Richardson, chaplain of Tuskegee Institute and Harvard Divinity School graduate, told these men before they left on their trip with the school that ministers could teach farm extension workers. "First, much of the progress in the South isn't a question of knowing, but of doing. People just haven't the itch to do better," he said. "Now, ministers know that people will try new farming ideas for God that they won't try for themselves. Second, the programs designed to give rural people a better life will amount to pauperism unless the ministers stress the responsibility of these people to support community programs and to do something for themselves." Mr. Richardson had seen young people come to Tuskegee who thought the school owed them an education and a job without any work on their part, and it worried him.

THE DREAM OF A MOVABLE CHURCH SCHOOL

The movable school with a truck purchased by thirty thousand pennies from Alabama Negro children and parents was

operated by Tuskegee on a budget of \$6,500 in 1942. "I often dream," said Chaplain Richardson, "of what a movable church school could do for broken-down churches, if it had trained personnel to work with ministers and congregations in the same cooperative manner as Booker T. Washington's Farmers' College. It would not take a week for experts to find out the troubles of many churches and to get a program under way to meet them. A movable church school could help communities redecorate their churches. I have seen a hundred southern rural churches with spittoons, commercial calendars, advertisements, and water pails in the pulpit itself. A bit of landscaping and a few gallons of Carver's crude oil paint could make a shack into a sanctuary of holiness."

Southern church leaders state that Protestantism's future in America is being determined now by what is happening in the South. Our present-day American migrations are coming from such "seed beds" as Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Georgia, which have a higher birth rate and larger ratio of children and young people than any other section of the country. It is here that the ministry to uprooted people begins. In the work of such men as Edwards, Campbell, Richardson, and Heinrich, the Protestant church has a program for reaching rural people in America and of meeting their spiritual and social needs. Chaplain Richardson describes the Tuskegee program as "The pastor takes a farm; the church takes to wheels." What we lack is trained personnel and the will of church members to provide the money to do the job. That's lacking plenty.

Cooperative Villages—Education, Ethics, and Economics

OF all the experiments undertaken to redeem the southern sharecropper economically, the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches have probably gazed with fondest eyes on the cooperative farm movement. Roman Catholics have experimented with cooperative farms such as Saint Teresa's Village. One of Protestantism's best-known cooperative experiments was the Hillhouse Delta farm.

SAINT TERESA'S VILLAGE

Saint Teresa's Village is located about six miles south of Greenville, Alabama. Except for a road sign, "Saint Teresa's Village—Pecans—Clean Rest Rooms," and a trailer with "Saint Teresa's Catholic Chapel" painted on it, I seemed to be in merely another quiet Alabama country community. A barefoot Negro girl minced by, carrying a basket of greens on her head.

I walked up to the largest building, knocked, and entered when someone called, "Come in." I found myself in a small

printing establishment with handbills and newspapers piled everywhere in neat bundles. On the walls were signs: "Saint Teresa's Village, Founded and Operated on Catholic Principles of Social Justice," "Saint Teresa's Trailer Chapel, Covers 11,000 Square Miles, Twenty Counties," and "Saint Teresa's Apostolate, Economic Opportunity, Social Security, Religious Education for Sharecroppers."

This room with its printing press is the heart of Saint Teresa's Village. It is the principal answer to how a young padre could start five years ago with eleven dollars of his own and a loan of three thousand dollars from the church and end up with a cooperative village that has sponsored a medical staff, a legal aid clinic, a trailer chapel, several handicraft industries, and eighty missions in southern Alabama. Father Arthur W. Terminiello, who was educated in New England and trained in the principles of the Catholic Rural Life Conference, is the name of this leader.

Father Terminiello, his tight black curls moist from his labor over the next issue of his newspaper, *Rural Justice*, came into the room. He answered questions willingly and enthusiastically, gave me samples of his pamphlets, loaded me with a file of his newspaper, and invited me to dinner.

Saint Teresa's Village is not impressive in appearance. It is another impoverished farm settlement where two dozen families make a scanty living from their plots of worn-out soil. Father Terminiello soon discovered that the economic hope of his cooperative was in small industries such as pecan processing, printing, woodwork, and production of religious articles to supplement incomes from diversified farming.

This program, however, is hardly a complete solution to the plight of eight million sharecroppers in the South, even if it were used on a broad scale.

THE POWER OF A PARISH PRESS

The influence of Saint Teresa's Village lies in its expert use of the printing press and other unusual means of propagating the Roman Catholic faith. This can be traced to one young man with ideas and energy, a hardheaded attitude of getting tough occasionally with sharecroppers for their own good, and cradle-to-grave religious education.

After witnessing the influence of Father Terminiello's newspaper, I began to hope that another parish paper movement might arise in America comparable to the one that resulted in religious journals popping up over the country during the early nineteenth century. Terminiello began his paper on a shoestring budget, first calling it the *Village News*, and finally *Rural Justice*. His formula seems to be an abundance of local and regional feature articles, personality sketches, news pictures and stories about the local missions and churches, digests of powerful sermons, and facts on local social problems that appear to be too hot for larger newspapers to handle.

Rural Justice is sent to regular church members, newspaper and magazine editors, and government officials. It represents the most outspoken social conscience in rural Alabama. When the government prosecuted a hungry Negro who, out of ignorance, committed a felony, *Rural Justice* raised thirty thousand dollars to take his case to the higher

courts and won it. Terminiello's defense of the man won him the confidence and conversion of many sharecroppers, once suspicious of Roman Catholics. Terminiello does not exclude Protestants from his cooperative; he absorbs them. And this he does by talking casually as he works with them in the fields and by championing their cause.

Father Terminiello has published thousands of handbills, all aimed at answering common criticisms of Roman Catholics: "The Catholic Revival"; "The Bible Alone—Is It Sufficient?"; "Catholics Love the Bible"; "Call No Man Father." The last one answers the question of why Roman Catholics call their priests "Father" when the Bible says, "Call no man your father." The spread of Roman Catholic missions in an area that once ran priests out on rails or shot them in cold blood is to be accounted for also by Terminiello's use of tent revivals—a technique borrowed from Protestants—open forums, planned heckling to raise questions that need answers, and cotton-row preaching.

More than one-half of the rural people of the South are members of no church. Yet it is from the South that most of the future church members are to come, because of the high birth rate in that area. The program of Saint Teresa's Village raises the question: Will not the Protestant church have to use similar methods of evangelism if it is to reach unchurched people? Some church leaders think so.

An editor of a Midwest church journal believes we should keep an eye on the new educational techniques the Office of War Information has devised during this war. There is the two-man printing outfit, compact and light

enough to be carried on a truck, yet capable of putting out a newspaper in color. He believes that a gospel team trained to use such a movable press could go into unchurched areas and, with local news and features to heighten reader interest, publish the good news of the Christian faith. In tension areas the paper could be used to direct local leadership in such constructive action as the avoidance of race riots or the oppression of minority groups. Some church leaders say the idea is not in keeping with the dignity and function of the church. But Father Terminiello, for one, feels otherwise.

THE WAYS OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE

Arthur W. Terminiello had much to learn about the ways of oppressed people. Defeat followed defeat. He asked in his newspaper for gifts of clothing for the sharecroppers, and people responded from all over America. He put the clothes in a common storeroom and told the sharecroppers to take them as needed. In a few days they were all gone. In his weekly parish calls he discovered that his people were paying neighbors with the clothes to take care of their children and clean their houses. They had good precedence for these tactics in the practices of white employers who sometimes preferred to pay them for work in old clothes.

After buying lumber and waiting two weeks for the sharecroppers to begin construction of a commissary for the village on their own initiative, Terminiello refused to buy them more food until the work was begun. "On the next project, work began immediately," he said, smiling.

Men whom he selected as leaders were terrified at the

responsibility and asked to be demoted so they could work along with the others.

The cooperative council decided at its first meeting after a year of free medical care, hospitalization, and a program of social insurance that it would rather "dispense with all such services and have what they cost in cold cash."

Father Terminiello prayed hard that night and was patient. He kept the council going, kept working with it. He knew he had no right to expect men to shake off in a year the effect of generations of impoverishment and tenancy, no matter what sort of program he offered them.

Many of the older people, the priest decided, could never be changed from their old ways. Saint Teresa's Village, therefore, in good Roman Catholic tradition now places its hope in an educational program for children and young people. Their education is centered around the work of the cooperative. As the young people take over more and more responsibilities in the village, they are indoctrinated in social and religious values. It appears that the cooperative has found itself, but Father Terminiello would feel happier about the future if he had even an acre of good land.

The Protestant churches would not agree on the content of the religious education program at Saint Teresa's Village, but there could be a free exchange of mission methods.

"WE HAVE PEACE HERE . . . EACH DAY"

On my way from Saint Teresa's Village to the Hillhouse cooperative, I entered at dusk the little town of Leland, Mississippi. While waiting for a traffic light to change, I

heard chimes begin to play "Holy, Holy, Holy." The town was quiet. I stopped and listened. Then, "Safely Through Another Week" rang out across the Delta and finally, "Day Is Dying in the West."

From a townsman I learned that each evening at six the organist of the First Baptist Church played the chimes for fifteen minutes. This, he said, had changed the prayer life of the town. One man said, "Chimes are like Christianity. When you hear them, you answer. Many of Leland's families have worship services while the chimes play. To most of us the chimes are a familiar symbol of peace, decency, and security. We would feel lost if we did not hear the chimes daily. We set our watches and our hearts by them."

Someone once put up a sign outside the town, "We Have Peace Here Fifteen Minutes Each Day."

DELTA COOPERATIVE FARM

The Hillhouse Delta Cooperative Farm was located by the river near Clarksburg, Mississippi. Its gumbo-crayfish clay had defeated two previous landlords. The same worn-out soil, not cooperative economics nor the people who worked the land, was eventually to kill Hillhouse.

The cooperative was begun as a Christian experiment in rural living. Later Congregational Christian, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist mission funds went into its religious education program. It was a good investment. Scores of people in their visits to it in the early years of its program gained a new social vision. And from the farm we have learned valuable lessons for interracial and rural work.

The cooperative was directed by two ministers—Sam Franklin, a Presbyterian who had served in Japan and is now a Navy chaplain; and A. E. Cox, a Disciple of Christ from Texas. I went to the cooperative primarily to find out if Hillhouse, by virtue of being a *Christian* experiment, was any different from farm cooperatives run on a secular basis. When I met A. E. Cox, he was auditing the books in the cooperative store after a hard day's work in the field. He motioned for me to sit down. I picked out a feed bag and sat down to wait. When he was through, we talked cooperative finances. Mr. Cox was a weary witness to the fact that when a Christian goes into business, he faces the same problems as anyone else. If he picks poor land he gets poor crops, the same as the pagan. Cox and Franklin had had enough of Hillhouse soil. They were selling out and establishing a co-operative cattle farm in Providence, Mississippi. They were not discouraged; just wiser.

RESISTING TO THE BLOOD

I asked who was going to Providence with them. "The thirteen families of the original group of Hillhouse," Mr. Cox answered. These were the people to whom the Delta Farm had given shelter after they had been evicted in Arkansas during a blizzard. One of their original landlords told me that the tenants were evicted because they were incompetent, lazy, and unhealthy. Mr. Cox said they were evicted because they had joined a union. With such a record, a "safe business" man would not have risked them as a sound investment.

But the founders of the Delta Farm, Sherwood Eddy, Bishop William Scarlett and a group of associates who shared their social vision, had seen these families only as hungry, needy people and had acquired the land in an emergency as a place to reestablish them. Hillhouse had helped them back to health, and had taught them the meaning of cooperation. In terms of human values the farm had succeeded. The founders and directors could have reduced their economic risk by taking only healthy men with good records. But they didn't do that. They began Hillhouse with the idea of "resisting to the blood" before compromising with the absolute demands of their faith.

A KEY TO SUCCESSFUL INTERRACIAL WORK

The mission workers at the cooperative walked the knife's edge between the pressure of a Negro-baiting community and the ideals of Christian brotherhood. They experimented at first with an interracial church. But the white man and the Negro each seemed to have such distinctive worship practices that both races worshiped more successfully separately. However, when the two races met to discuss some mutual problem they got along well. Mr. Cox believes that any church wishing to break through lines of segregation should first bring races together in functional groups where a definite job is to be done.

During its first three years, the cooperative tried collective farming in which all worked together in the field. Franklin and Cox kept track of the number of hours each man worked, and revenue from the sale of the crop at the

end of the year was distributed accordingly. But there were complaints that some workers were "ratting" on the job, so the co-op shifted over to the individual work plan. The co-op furnished tools, seeds, fertilizer, and a house. And the people furnished the labor. This plan actually was sharecropping. Cox came to the conclusion that there is nothing wrong with sharecropping as a system. The trouble, as with all systems, comes in its abuse. Difficulties develop when someone uses the system for selfish ends alone or when a landlord deliberately keeps false books and charges exorbitant credit rates in order to keep the sharecropper from breaking even.

After the Hillhouse experiment, Franklin or Cox would hardly stake the life of the Christian faith on any one economic system—cooperative or otherwise. They would not say, "This system is Christian. Now that we have this, we have made economics Christian." They saw at Hillhouse how easily an economic system can be used by people to the detriment of all, or for the benefit of all, depending upon what kind of moral decisions the men in the system make. This is not to say that the founders of Hillhouse saw no reason for choice of one economic system over another. They were committed to the principles underlying cooperatives. They saw that the practice of giving the workers a vote in and an accurate knowledge of the affairs of the farm helped prevent a few people from taking advantage of the others. It divided profits equally and encouraged mutual helpfulness.

The Protestant church, it would seem, might do well to

continue to encourage such experiments as Hillhouse. Obviously there is no one solution to any social problem so widespread and complex as tenancy. Cooperatives, public ownership on the Tennessee Valley pattern, redistribution of land ownership, organization of farm workers into unions to bargain collectively with insurance companies and banks holding tremendous blocks of land—all these can contribute to the solution. To those who carry on all these programs, Christianity brings a sense of moral responsibility to put the interests of the entire community before personal interests.

Delta Co-op lost its life on the worked-out soil of Hillhouse, Mississippi, but has found it in a score of successful cooperative farm experiments throughout the South. To an isolated, impoverished community in the Cumberland mountains near Big Lick, Tennessee, Eugene Smathers brought the principles of Rochdale and Bethlehem. Twelve years of community cooperation resulted in a recreation hall and program, a sturdy stone church, and a "House of Health" with a resident nurse. Two study clubs on farming and family hygiene were organized; a farmers' association to buy tools and fertilizer and a community saw and planing mill were developed. Before the coming of the religious cooperative movement to Big Lick the young people were leaving the rural community for the city. Now with a Church Homestead Plan at work, the community pools its funds and purchases land to sell to young people who want to farm. The payments are small and the interest on loans low. Big Lick is keeping its future leaders.

This project is one of the methods that the Fellowship

of Southern Churchmen has devised for giving "practical expression to the historic redemptive mission of the prophetic Christian faith." The Fellowship includes men and women, white and Negro, from ten southern states. The Fellowship also sponsors a religious movement called "Friends of the Soil" to lead men through liturgy and work "to regard the earth as holy and man as a steward of the Eternal," and to aid rural churches in serving the whole life of the community.

In Asheville, North Carolina, a marketing and purchasing cooperative developed a religious department that carried the Lord's Acre idea across America. "If you haven't money, plant an acre or keep a chicken for the Lord" is its motto. In Carrollton, Georgia, Edward Yoeman organized an entire county into a cooperative project. It utilized the resources of the Southeastern Cooperative League, the churches, a college, and the county Civilian Defense Council. Carrollton is but one example of the use of civilian defense organizations in preparing for peace. New York state church women made a survey of civilian defense jobs and found that eighty per cent of them can be converted into peacetime projects. In Abbeyville County, South Carolina, the American Friends Service Committee is guiding a group of tenant farmers into an integrated, healthy community of small owners, with a cooperative store, sorghum mill, and sawmill.

Some cooperative leaders believe that the rapid growth of the movement during the past ten years has been due largely to the work of interested Christian ministers, editors,

and laymen. Because it is voluntary and democratic and restores ownership to the people, hundreds of churches have supported it as an effective instrument against poverty. In rural America one farmer out of three is a member of at least one cooperative. There are three hundred and seventy-eight credit unions in America organized around religious groups—most of them Roman Catholic. Dozens of cooperative stores have begun in churches. Thus in many different ways the vision of the leaders of Saint Teresa's Village and Delta Farm is being realized in American life.

Religion, Labor, and Pressure Groups

As I stood in front of shipyards and factories to watch the change of shifts, I became more and more aware that the new war workers were Negroes who could not get industrial jobs in peacetime and one-time white-collar clerks and shopkeepers—all the chief sources of Protestant membership. Until the war, the bulk of industrial workers were Roman Catholic, and their union leaders were Catholic or Jewish. But the situation is changing. In Pascagoula, Mississippi, for example, the pre-war ratio of three Roman Catholic to one Protestant shipyard worker has been reversed. Will the Protestant churches understand the changes in the lives of their members and give them spiritual guidance as they face their new relationships with unions and employers and with other racial and cultural groups?

One churchman who is making an adjustment to the new industrial situation is the Reverend B. G. Shaw, Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. He was, a Birmingham News reporter told me, the first churchman in

the Birmingham, Alabama, area to press publicly for the organization of Negroes into mixed unions. Since depression years, Bishop Shaw has been seeking to work with the unions as a churchman and a Christian. These years of experience have helped him and the ministers in his episcopal districts to keep up with the influx of Negroes into war industries and unions and to advise them how best to use their new opportunities.

Bishop Shaw is a heavy, well built man, with tremendous self-control and the ability to speak convincingly at the drop of an inflection. "I visit about two hundred churches regularly," he told me. "While most white men worked in the mid-1930's, the majority of our church members were without jobs. Many foraged in the streets and in garbage dumps for food. Our churches were as poor as our people. I would ask my church members why they didn't work in various Birmingham plants. And they would answer, 'We can't; they're union shops and the white workers won't take us into their unions.' The men who were working were doing the heaviest, dirtiest labor in Birmingham at the lowest wages paid by the shops. 'How come?' I'd ask. And they would answer, 'We can't belong to the unions.'"

Newspaper files and histories of unions reveal that as early as 1904 the United Mine Workers union had organized Negroes in Birmingham. In 1920 coal operators tried to use race prejudice to break the union, reporting in an open letter in Birmingham papers: "We have found that the oath of each member of this union provides, 'I do solemnly swear never to discriminate against a fellow worker on account of

creed, color, or nationality.' ” In 1930 an American Federation of Labor organizing drive failed in Birmingham because of Ku Klux Klan opposition to the entrance of Negroes into unions and because powerful organization is impossible in the South without the Negro. However, Bishop Shaw was right that the general policy of trade unions in Birmingham before 1934 was either to exclude the Negro entirely or to shunt him off into powerless and segregated affiliates.

A BISHOP ATTENDS A LABOR MEETING

When Bishop Shaw read the constitution of the Congress of Industrial Organizations pledging “the effective organization of the working men and women of America regardless of race, color, creed, or nationality,” and saw that its organizing drives in the North neither excluded nor segregated Negroes, he decided to go to a regional C.I.O. convention and offer the services of his churches if the union would open a drive in Birmingham.

The labor scene in Birmingham was chaotic. Northern capital had come south with the promise of an ample supply of “cheap, efficient, and reasonable labor,” and was fighting the unions bitterly, with the unions returning the blows. The C.I.O. leaders were having a hard time gaining understanding from the churches. Often it was difficult to find a minister who would open a C.I.O. convention with prayer.

Bishop Shaw was worried as to how to approach the union. He felt strongly about the union’s moral responsibilities to the Negro, but he decided that he had no right to advise the unions until he showed his willingness to help

them. He promised that his ministers would urge the Negro people to join the C.I.O. union and to work for a peaceful and constructive adjustment to interracial problems and for greater economic justice in Birmingham. The ministers would seek to make their members not only good husbands, good wives, and good parents, but good union men and women. And Bishop Shaw personally would work to bring the leaders of the Negro church and of the union together in order to foster mutual understanding and respect.

The C.I.O. did open an organizing drive in the "Pittsburgh of the South" with the result that workers are now organized in more than one hundred mixed unions. With the white man relieved of some of the fear of Negro economic competition, race relations in Birmingham have taken a turn for the better. If the Negro is unorganized, he must, in order to eat, undercut the union man's wages, or in a strike "scab" against him. Negroes have been elected to several local and national offices of unions. Three Negroes were on the C.I.O. council of Birmingham when I was there, and thirty-five thousand Negroes were in mixed unions. Organized labor is increasingly recognized as having a place in Birmingham's community life, and Negroes and their churches as having a peculiar contribution to make to organized labor.

During the drive Bishop Shaw tried to avoid an alliance with union leaders that would make the workers see the church only as a helpful ally that could be "worked" for the union's own interests. He tried to keep his churches from appearing interested in promoting sectarian religious inter-

ests, that is, in getting members. He succeeded fairly well, considering that he was dealing with unions in the midst of a bitter power struggle. At a banquet held by Negro and white labor leaders in honor of Bishop Shaw, speakers showed their respect for him, not as a means of "getting what we wanted out of the churches," but as a religious man who helped the labor movement serve not merely the interests of its members but all of society.

RESULTS OF UNIONIZATION

An unforeseen result of the unionization of colored workers was the renewed economic health of the Birmingham Negro churches. Collections in many of Bishop Shaw's churches began to mount as wages increased. Church programs picked up. Fuel for church heating systems could be bought. In some churches Sunday school materials were purchased for the first time.

Bishop Shaw stopped his story to make a telephone call. "Brother Morgan, tell Sister to come to the phone a minute. Sister Morgan, I have those tickets ready for you. Do you have some time to sell them? . . . Fine . . . Good-by." He turned to me. "We're putting on a drive for a Negro hospital in Birmingham," he explained. "Also a park. We have neither. Negroes are working together now to get improvements. The unions and the churches taught us how."

His telephone conversation and comment is but one indication of how small a part "northern" or "foreign" or "outside" leadership is playing in the determined action of the

Negro for his rights. The leadership is to be found among southern Negroes such as Bishop Shaw, who learned his social strategy from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the unions, and his passion for social justice from the Old Testament prophets. Unfortunately, such men who understand the resources of the Negro church and are calling aggressive young leadership to its side are scarce.

PRESSURE GROUPS

Bishop Shaw's work can be placed in a context larger than church-labor relations. The problem of the church declaring its gospel to labor is the same as for all other organizations that we have come to call pressure groups—the National Association of Manufacturers, representing big business; the C.I.O. and A. F. of L., representing industrial and craft workers; the Farm Bureau, representing big agriculture; the Farmers Union, representing the small farmer, and so on to the number of a thousand or more national organizations. No one doubts that many of these organizations are necessary. It is natural for men to band together so that they may more effectively represent their interests in society. And no one doubts that most major economic and political decisions made in our nation grow out of the action of these organized groups.

Yet these groups often amass great power and pursue their own narrow interests so uncompromisingly that the life of the whole community suffers. Bishop Shaw saw this happen in Birmingham. As a Christian he could not say, "Let these

groups go their way; let them do as they please." Then what should he as a churchman do?

MINISTRY TO LABOR GROUPS

The Protestant church has not been too sure how it should deal with organized groups that act irresponsibly toward the public welfare. It has placed its chief reliance in the conversion of the life of the individual from selfishness to self-denial. This reliance has not been an idle dream. For nineteen centuries the power of Christ to lift man out of his evil ways has been in evidence. But the Protestant church has not been an inclusive fellowship. In its Sunday services it is much more likely to reach the employer than the union man. A few Protestant churches are beginning to develop a strategy new to this generation of members—that of taking the gospel to people in the industries, in union meetings, in migrant camps, and in the factories in the field. The message of the Protestant church has made clear the relevance of the Christian gospel to man's private or family life more often than to his business, job, or union. Such men as Bishop Shaw preach a gospel for all man's relationships.

Moreover, the Protestant church has by its exclusive reliance upon the neighborhood church and its Sunday service failed to make its voice heard where most of the decisions in our world are being made. So some Protestant groups are beginning to send delegates to the meetings of pressure organizations and legislative hearings where planning is done. The loose and often uncoordinated structure of the Protestant churches has been a handicap. Several Protestant

groups have set up mediating agencies that they call legislative committees or councils for social action. They are given the freedom to act quickly and to speak with the various pressure groups in their own name, but not in the name of the denomination, and to use the magazines and papers of the denomination to supply non-partisan information on social and political issues to church people. The churches have held conferences between labor leaders and ministers, directors of social agencies and ministers, businessmen and ministers. And they are experimenting with chaplains to unions and factories.

But as Bishop Shaw soon discovered, the problem of working with these social groups is not primarily that of establishing contact with them. That was fairly easy. If he had not gone to the unions, they would soon have come to him asking for support and understanding. For every pressure group, every political organization, seeks alliances with opinion-molding groups. The C.I.O. now has two full-time men seeking cooperation from the church; the National Association of Manufacturers has long had representatives to work with church leaders. This is natural and right. The problem for the church is to find the best way to take united action with these groups and yet to make it clear that these measures are not the sole instruments of redemption and salvation that the church offers to the world.

HOW CHECK INJUSTICE?

The churches do unite at various times and on particular issues with a variety of these organized movements. In the

interests of the small farmer, leaders of Methodist, Congregational Christian, Episcopal, and the Roman Catholic churches and of the Home Missions Council have supported the Farm Security Administration with the aid of the Farmers Union against the pressure of the Farm Bureau. In Louisiana, Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests cooperated in defeating a vicious anti-labor bill promoted in the state legislature.

How could these church leaders do this? Bishop Shaw insisted he was not backing "good men versus bad men." He had no ideas about joining up with the "right" side and thus being sure of an easy conscience. He acted as he did because the support of the union represented an effective protest against another movement that sought to dominate the workers of Birmingham. He knew that the power of the owner must be limited and that in this imperfect world moral suasion and education alone would not accomplish this. By the same token, he might turn and make cause with farmers in Alabama or the businessmen of Birmingham against labor should it become tyrannical. But at this moment in history, Bishop Shaw believed that the largely self-interested pursuits of labor were closer to the welfare of the entire community than the equally self-interested program of the Birmingham industrialists.

He could do this because as a Christian he was loyal to a higher responsibility than the particular advantages coming to labor. He sought justice in Birmingham, reverence for personality, enrichment of man's life through the control of conditions under which he works, growth of man's love and

compassion for others through working together. These he believed to be the will of God.

And while he worked with the unions and spoke at their meetings, he made it clear that through the organizations and institutions that man devises for the protection of his consumer, labor, or industrial interests, the will of God can be done. He influenced them to put the interests of the community before their own. He sought to transform their organization of fight and restraint into one that could take its place in a world of mutual service.

Bishop Shaw sought during that bitter power struggle in Birmingham to interpret labor and management to one another. He urged his ministers to organize conferences and institutes in which representatives from the various groups would discuss their problems. He kept his own contacts and "lines of communication" open to both sides. And in his action he established a valuable pattern for Protestant leaders.

If the church really believes in the brotherhood of man, then it must be interested in decent wages, improved working conditions, more democracy in industry through collective bargaining—all of which are means toward brotherhood. "What I can't understand," one Birmingham union man told me, "is how the church can make statements about the 'right of workers to organize and bargain collectively' and then raise no word of protest when collective bargaining is opposed. I may be wrong, but it seems to me the church is trying to carry on a sort of double life."

One of the greatest tragedies of this century is that so few

churchmen have won, as has Bishop Shaw, the moral right to speak to labor of the responsibilities and temptations that power brings. Like all power it can be used to forward labor's own selfish interests or for the good of the entire community. The labor movement needs leaders and regular members who have a sense of the sacredness of their vocation and of the working of God for justice and righteousness through all institutions. Except for a Mullenbach Industrial Institute in Chicago with a four-thousand-dollar budget, a Labor Temple in New York, an inadequately supported Religion and Labor Foundation, and a one-man Industrial Division of the Federal Council, the Protestant church has made little organized effort to help the labor movement provide such leadership.

A CHURCH THAT SPEAKS TO LABOR

A church that decides to speak to the needs of the industrial worker must never retreat into vague generalities, Bishop Shaw warns us. Most of the worker's moral problems have to do with his vocation and his union. The decision of a union to exclude Negroes from membership is a moral problem. The decision of a company to forge inspection "OK's" on airplane engine parts is a moral decision. The church must understand the peculiar problems a man faces in his job and help him find answers. Many church leaders agree that our adult and young people's education programs, our Sunday schools and forums, should provide time for discussion of spiritual problems relating to one's job. Bishop Shaw told me of several moral problems con-

fronting his church members: Should the union members oppose arbitrary refusals to accept additional members when a refusal may deprive those workers of a livelihood? Should the worker join a union when its leadership is known to be communist-dominated, or irresponsible? How can a member encourage democracy within the union? When the interests of the workers seem to conflict with the interests of the public, which should a union member follow?

During this war many churches traditionally of white-collar membership have suddenly found in their ranks a vocal minority, or in some instances a majority, of laboring men, demanding that some attention be given to the worker's moral and religious problems. The experience has been valuable but it has also been terrifying to many ministers and members. Help to laboring men cannot come from ministers unacquainted with union and worker problems. When this war began in 1941 there were only eleven labor courses offered in Protestant seminaries. During the same year, by contrast, the Roman Catholic church held over one hundred labor institutes in which labor leaders met with priests to discuss ethical problems of workers, labor history, and Roman Catholic teaching on labor's responsibility.

Bishop Shaw's parting words were significant: "You are trying to find what the churches can do to help the uprooted in America. Let the churches give each man the feeling that his job is essential to the whole community and that he has a dignity and a status because of the service his labor renders to the brotherhood of man. Give a man that dignity and he will no longer be uprooted."

THE WITNESS OF VESTIBULE NOTES

At Birmingham I began, as a hobby, the collection of comments from vestibule guestbooks of churches that are open daily for prayer and meditation. These vestibule notes tell better than any book why people pray.

On Sundays people usually wrote: "Enjoyed the sermon very much." "You have a beautiful church." "Lovely service."

But on weekdays the comments read: "I needed this desperately." "Had to get out of the office for a little while." "Thank God for the peace I found here." "At last a quiet half hour."

These vestibule notes are a powerful witness to the church's purpose in the world. They hold within them all man's anguish and despair of his ability to save himself, all his petitions and hopes for grace and strength from God, and all his thankfulness for the gift of God's peace and power. These are the prayers of a searching, humble people: "I was a stranger seeking consolation." "I received the help I needed." "Looks just as it did when I was a choir boy." "I came to give thanks following my wife's successful operation." "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" "I thought this a good way to begin a furlough." "Too late?"

Sextons who see these people pass through the church's open doors each day know the secrets of a thousand lives—halting prayers that escape the lips of worshipers; young couples who kneel before the altar and consecrate their love to service in His name; soldiers' faces, once tense, now relaxed after prayer.

McCoy of Rust College

OUT from Holly Springs, Mississippi, sprawls some of the most rugged, gullied, erosion-stricken land in the world. On the edge of Holly Springs stands Rust College, Methodist school for Negroes, which announces in its catalogue: "Those who hope to drift by on flowery beds of ease will find no welcome by this institution." Rust is out to produce students who can subdue this desolate land and make it give back food. It takes a tough curriculum to do the job.

"FRESH EGGS FOR SALE"

At the entrance to Rust's campus is a shingle, "Rust College" and beneath it "Fresh Eggs for Sale." The sign is an omen. Rust College, like many of the sixty other Protestant colleges for Negroes, has been hanging on the ropes, fighting for its life, earning its way as best it can. Its students help to support it by producing salable products as a part of their education.

Rust College is important because it is a symbol of the strength and weakness of Negro church colleges and because it holds a promise for the future. Much of its strength and

promise is embodied in its president, Dr. L. C. McCoy. Considering that Holly Springs is in Mississippi, it may sound like harmonica playing in church when you read that Dr. McCoy is one of the most respected men in northern Mississippi. When I called his attention to this, he said quietly, "I just keep my mouth shut and work like mischief."

Rust College has much the same objectives as other Negro missions colleges: (1) the raising of the economic level of the surrounding community; (2) development of Negro leadership; (3) improvement of Negro-white relations—all motivated by and infused with the Christian faith.

Northern Mississippi's farm land represents the final result of "trying to get it all in the pocket, and instead, getting it in the neck." Careless use of the soil has led to ravines that are wide and deep enough, as Dr. McCoy says, to be places in which you hide horses. After seventy-eight years of suffering and back-breaking labor, Rust College, with almost no capital, has been able to convert sections of northern Mississippi into soil that blooms like the Promised Land. Without Rust, the northern Mississippi small farmer would have given up the fight years ago. Morale centers around what is called "McCoy's Folly."

"MC COY'S FOLLY"

Dr. McCoy took me out to see his "folly," or as he prefers to call it, his "poor man's farm." We covered what I presume was forty acres in an hour, I falling back to write down information, then running ahead to find him in a gully, figuring out where to put his next dam to stop erosion. Dr.

McCoy had been out to the farm already that morning, looked over the school's projects, checked on the feeding of the livestock, and been back for breakfast at seven o'clock.

Dr. McCoy bought the farm with seven hundred and fifty dollars from the family savings. Then he proceeded with correct farming techniques (taught at Rust), initiative, and faith (also taught at Rust) to make the farm a profitable enterprise. From the wood on the place he built a farmhouse, substantial, if slightly rugged. He used scrap timber to fill the gullies. Being a heretical southern farmer he specializes in watermelons, tomatoes, boysenberries, and cucumbers—not cotton—and sells usually to food packers on assignment. The farm is now appraised at nine thousand dollars. Farmers come out to his place to see "what old man McCoy is up to next," and then go back home to try out the same. "I never said a word about what I was doing," he explained. "One hint that I was going into farming to show how it should be done, and not even the birds would have come around."

Dr. McCoy has always been worried about Negro colleges syphoning the best youth out of rural areas, educating them, and then discovering that they went North, rather than back to their old communities to teach what they had learned. He thought he knew the reason. While at school, the young people grew away from home ties. So Rust students now gain part of their education working in the communities around Holly Springs. For board and room, student teachers keep the schools open for three months longer each year than the state educational program provides. This helps to

even up the educational lead white children have over Negroes, since Mississippi spends one dollar on Negroes for every eight dollars it spends on white children. Home economics students give demonstrations on farms. Agriculture students go back to "help put Dad's place on a paying basis." Some of the students once thought that education was to keep them from working. Rust has taught them different, says Dr. McCoy.

HOW TO SAVE A COLLEGE

In the depths of the depression the student body went to the president and said, "None of us has a cent on which to continue school. Isn't there some way we can keep going to Rust?" Dr. McCoy answered with "self-help clubs," in which he put everybody to work raising vegetables and canning them, sewing clothes, growing cattle, chickens, and pigs. The cattle he acquired by bartering education for them. Rust now lends pure-bred cattle, chickens, and pigs to farmers so that they can improve their livestock breeds. While Dr. McCoy was attending high school, he worked for a woman who taught him to can vegetables and fruit. "What I learned from her," he said, "has saved two colleges—Morgan and Rust. I also make a nice fruit cake."

When I was at Rust, this college president had a new project in mind: making pottery from native clay. It would take twenty thousand dollars to set up the industry, so the project remains in the dream stage. Right now Rust is educating seven hundred and sixty students a year on \$48,000—the neatest financial trick of the year. (Christians have a

peculiar habit of giving just enough money to mission boards so they can give colleges and other mission projects just enough on which to die fighting.) Dr. McCoy had some samples of student claywork—vases, lamp bases, bowls—in an old fountain pen display case in his office. They looked better than the stuff I bought once for genuine Van Briggles.

The students usually have nothing with which to pay for tuition or books. Ruby Elzy, later a singer with Gershwin's folk-opera "Porgy and Bess," had three dollars when she went to Rust. Most students need a year's feeding up before they are strong enough to do school work.

RUST DOES SOME SOUL SEARCHING

Since the Civil War, northern churches have poured out their prayers and money for Negro mission schools such as Rust. "Had it not been for the mission schools, it is difficult to see how the races could have lived together in the succeeding years," says one church leader. The remarkable advance of the Negro in art and science is to be attributed in great part to the forty-seven thousand leaders and teachers these schools have educated. But like most Negro colleges, Rust is now doing much soul searching.

At present church schools such as Rust meet a tremendous need for Negro educational facilities. While Japan has only one per cent adult illiteracy, American adult Negroes are sixteen per cent illiterate. The South would need twice as many Negro colleges as it has now were it to give a college education to the same percentage of Negroes as whites. Yet many church schools need to pool funds and equipment to-

day in order to offer a minimum college curriculum. All of which argues for a Federal education bill that will level up opportunities in the poorer sections of the country by taxation of the richer parts of the United States.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, estimates that it will take \$150,000,000 to provide Negro schools with equipment and teachers equal to white schools, and an increased annual expenditure of \$50,000,000 to keep them there. The states, with their present budgets, would need eighty-five years to provide the money. The South alone has fifty per cent of the nation's children to educate on nine per cent of the country's income. The South spends as great a percentage of its tax money for education as the North, but the meagerness of its taxable income and the cost of maintaining a dual educational system keep its schools the most inadequate in the country.

Were the Federal government and the states to assume their full responsibilities, hundreds of thousands of dollars of mission money now going into Negro church schools could be released for other work. A few Protestant church leaders insist that the religious illiteracy of our nation is the result of the church's entrusting the education of its members to the state. They demand that the church keep all the educational institutions it has.

Rust College is also doing much soul searching about its program of Negro-white relations. In spite of itself, Rust stands as evidence of a system of segregation of the races that it cannot approve either in light of Scriptures and Christian conscience, or of what offers most hope of understand-

ing and adjustment between the races. When "Rust Singers" visit white churches, Dr. McCoy says: "Now, friends, these are all my children and I know how wonderful they are. I'd like each of you to learn to know them better by taking a singer home with you this evening." The church people do, and they find a new and wonderful understanding of the Negro.

However, with the exception of occasional friendships established between members of each race, Rust feels that it has not altered the pattern of segregation in its own community. Most white people in Holly Springs respect Rust, but Negroes are treated no different on the street, in public buildings, and in job placement from those in other towns.

Citizens of Holly Springs look uneasily toward the return of war workers and Negro soldiers to the farms. According to a local draft board official, many of Holly Springs' rural people seem to have been wakened out of a trance by the war. They hitched up the mules, gathered together their few personal belongings, piled the kids into the buckboard, and headed for a war job in the city. A few with a little extra cash abandoned wagons and old mules at the railroad and bus stations in their hurry to get away. Some of the tenants had started out and been brought back by the far-reaching arm of white law.

"They'll be back after the war," the draft board man said. "When the going gets tough, they'll be back. At least they can grow something to eat back here." But I wondered in what mood young men would return who have received an industrial and mechanical education in the army or in war industries. Sixty-eight per cent of our armed forces are

trained in technical skills. To fly 100,000 planes takes about 2,000,000 men to navigate, repair gasoline engines, operate radios and other complicated flight instruments. Our army has trained thousands of one-time farm men to become Diesel mechanics, radio, teletype, and chemical experts. They will no longer be satisfied to chop other men's cotton.

Elderly Negro women told me that at the end of the last war they had met their soldier boys in Memphis and told them not to come home because the Ku Klux Klan was riding. They were out to make "niggers" again of soldiers who thought they had fought a war to "make the world safe for democracy." Lynchings had doubled. Mothers feared that blood would flow deep on the Delta. At the end of this war the same conditions threaten.

A former Mississippi governor recently said in a campaign speech for reelection that he expected much racial tension after the war and that if he was elected he "would place a gun in the hands of every white man in order to keep colored people in their places." He was defeated but his approach to race trouble was not. I saw several southern towns with large deputized white forces, ready to pack guns if necessary in order to "keep niggers in their place," after the war. Negroes—soldiers and civilians—believing the talk of Four Freedoms and encouraged by greater opportunities for jobs and money during the war, find the Jim Crow laws harder and harder to endure in silence. The race problem remains America's number one domestic issue, and its most explosive one.

While a School for Rural Pastors was in progress at Rust,

at least five different attitudes of white people toward Negroes and of Negroes toward the solution of their own problems were evident in Holly Springs. After further travel I soon learned that Holly Springs had no monopoly on them.

1. A deputy sheriff who had four notches on his revolver for Negroes he had killed thought the best thing to do when colored people become a problem is to "kill off the bad ones."

2. The barber shop boys were for complete subordination. The only way to avoid race trouble is to keep the Negro "beneath the white man where he belongs." Across the country one hears many versions, sophisticated and crude, of this idea of keeping the "inferior nigger" down.

One southern newspaper editor in Arkansas saw the Negro-white problem simply as a fight to see who is going to rule whom.

"Do you think white people in my town, God bless her, want the 'nigger' to have full voting privileges when fifty-eight per cent of the people are colored? Why, they could dominate our municipal government. Right now we've got a couple who are justices of the peace and even that worries the white people of the city. In southern states, if they were given full voting privileges, they would hold the balance of political power, particularly if they became organized. The South knows this, and that's why they are vigorously enforcing, during the war, laws and customs that keep the 'nigger' in his place.

"You people in the North have no 'nigger' problem. In the South, thirty million white people live with ten million

colored people. Why, there are fifty-two per cent 'niggers' in Mississippi." For this editor, racial problems boil down to keeping the white man politically and economically dominant, and to having a cheap supply of labor. He is convinced that if the Negro is allowed to rise from his position of ignorance and poverty, he will, in a mood of vengeance, turn upon the white man and subject him to the same treatment.

The racism of the editor is as deep as selfishness. It did little good to argue with him that the Negro is becoming articulate and organized in his protest and that if the white man by his cupidity makes it necessary for the Negro to win his rights by fight and restraint, he will be bitter and vengeful. One cannot eradicate by reason something that did not originate in reason.

3. The Western Union operator wanted the races kept separated as much as possible, in the movies, churches, buses, and factories. Negroes and whites "are of different kind."

I met many Negroes who held the same position. In Mount Bayou, Mississippi, an all-Negro town, a Negro minister suggested that all Negroes settle in towns such as Mount Bayou and live alone. He hadn't figured out just how thirteen million Negroes could live in a sort of independent economy in the middle of the United States.

4. One of the teachers at Rust was in favor of permitting each race to develop its own capacities and patterns of life. In line with Booker T. Washington's ideas, there should be an encouragement of separate Negro literature and art, separate school systems and hospitals. He believed that the

Negro should be given equal educational and health facilities and equal economic opportunity with the white man. This viewpoint was also voiced by many Negro doctors, educators, and businessmen with whom I talked. They believe that if the Negro builds a "better mouse trap" or develops new skills, then the world will beat a path to his door. With Negro machinists and skilled workers pounding the streets for jobs or digging ditches during the war, many Negroes have modified this hope.

5. A white mission worker at Rust's School for Rural Pastors held that there should be no discrimination and no segregation of the races. He knew that there was race prejudice—a dislike of a group biologically different from his own—but held that much so-called race prejudice was cultural prejudice against differences in eating habits, family patterns, dress, language, and even religion. Such prejudices, he argued, could be overcome only by the breakdown of segregation. When two different groups are thrown into close and continued social contact, there develops almost automatically a harmonizing of conflicting traits. That was why the worker wanted above all that religious groups interest themselves in developing interracial churches. The duty of the church, he held, was not to preach brotherhood, but to practise it. The church, he said, must be an example in the world of a racial brotherhood that, if worked out in society, would mean its salvation. Men repented before Christ because of what he was, not because of what he preached. Is it any wonder, he asked, that the church has not brought the nation to repentance for its racism?

CHAPTER 6

The Church Meets Boom Town Problems

UP the street and sidewalks, past the little church, came lines of tired men, grimy and sweating. They were workers coming off the seven-to-three shift at a Pascagoula, Mississippi, shipyard. They talked little as they moved by in bumper-to-bumper lines of makeshift buses and packed cars, or trudged along on foot.

"Look at the faces of those men," said Dr. J. C. Crane, Presbyterian minister, as he stood with me in front of the manse. "They are dog-tired. The big thing the church has to overcome in reaching those men is fatigue, not sin. They just want to get home and sit. Half of them live on the outskirts of town in trailers, tents, and shacks. Many are in government low-cost homes or crowded boarding houses. They don't live in communities, but in aggregates."

PLAIN OLD POOR-NEWS-COPY CHRISTIANITY

As the men went by some waved to Dr. Crane. "They are some of my church members," he explained. When I asked

him how they became interested in his church, the answer was usually, "My wife and I sat up with him when he had heart trouble," or "He was a pneumonia case we took to the hospital when the doctor was out of town."

Dr. Crane described Pascagoula's wartime changes. Before the war it had been just another Gulf shore town of six or seven thousand people who earned their livelihood by fishing, gathering oysters, catering to tourists, and working in a woolen mill and a small shipyard. A year after Pearl Harbor Ingall's shipyard had brought thirteen thousand new workers to town to build merchant ships. They were sharecroppers from sun-baked cotton fields, trappers and fishermen from the bayous, small farmers whose diet was fatback, molasses, and corn pone. Negroes from upstate rural areas who had never seen a city with bright lights and had never had ten dollars in cash came. Filling station attendants, salesmen, and white-collar workers joined the group. Overnight Pascagoula became a city of lonely, confused people.

Several thousand of the newcomers settled in basement homes, tattered tents, dirty trailers, and damp, dark shacks along the water's edge. When government emergency housing was finally available some unaccustomed to such homes stayed out in their shacks "where a man can do as he wants." The influx of workers jammed the schools and the buses. Delinquency doubled; police, medical, postal, and welfare forces were overtaxed. Only "natives" with understanding hearts could welcome people who meant so much trouble to them.

Some townspeople felt no responsibility for the new-

comers. One minister said he wasn't out to reach the new people. "We have enough to do keeping old members." A Pascagoula citizen told me that the new war workers were "pea-patch trash" and added, "They're leading the life of Riley. Why, it's a regular gold rush. I know a woman who bought ten hats in one day. We couldn't have people like that in our church."

Many ministers and church visitors found the rural people suspicious, fearful, quick to take offense, and slow to come to the church services of the city. Some ministers tried to help them realize that the strange years spent in Pascagoula were as much a part of their lives as the years that preceded them. But the people repeated over and over, "We are not in Pascagoula to stay." They wanted only to work and to make money. For the time being they would forego all else that went with living. They would only work, sleep, and eat. But, as one Pascagoula minister said, "the complete rootlessness of their lives saps their enjoyment of everything. They are old and broken by the time they are forty."

"THE LIFE OF RILEY" IN SOUTH PASCAGOULA

I stopped with a church visitor at a tent in the seashore district. A child with fear in her thin face peered out at us, then hid in the rear of the tent. We called, "Anyone home?" No answer. We waited and then looked in. Three children were cowering in a corner, the terrorized look of trapped animals in their eyes. "Where are your parents?" the visitor asked. No answer. "They at work?" The oldest girl nodded. "You children here alone?" Again she nodded.

A thousand such children roam the streets day and night in that section of town. Babies have been burned to death because of parental neglect. In one instance the parents had gone to a juke joint and left their child alone. In another the baby had been put in the charge of a thirteen-year-old bride in a trailer. "Parental delinquency" is flagrant. The churches have also failed to reach deeply enough into the areas to direct the play of the children, to organize recreation for them, and to indicate that someone actually cares what happens to them. Before 1943 a church recreational center was something new to Pascagoula. Eastlawn Methodist Church was the first to employ a full-time recreational director, construct a playground, and acquire equipment for indoor and outdoor recreation for children from six years of age to the adult level. In addition to the recreation, the church is beginning to develop a weekday religious education program.

At the second stop a dejected woman in a cheap house-dress answered our rapping. How did she like Pascagoula? She hated it. She and her husband are moving out as soon as the war is over if the yards close down. They are going back to "God's country," which is, of course, their old home town. Their church is back there, and their religion, which they will take up again when they get back. She was home from work, "resting up a couple days." She looked as if she needed a vacation. She and her husband had both taken war jobs as an opportunity to pay off a hospital bill for the treatment of the husband for stomach ulcers. They had three children under ten years of age, a girl and two boys. The

daughter was sickly and the worry of taking care of the two younger children while the mother and father work was wearing on her.

At the third shanty a middle-aged man with a bandana handkerchief tied around his head told us he was not going back to his old home when the war is over. If he wanted steady work, he figured, his family had better be ready to move overnight to a new plant. They were on the move, perhaps for life. If the church was to serve his family, it would have to be on the move with them. His only recreation was loafing at a local gin joint, which had moved in and set up business long before any church agency. The family knew no one.

The trailer towns in Pascagoula and in all boom towns have become a symbol to America. They are an extreme example of the trend in our country toward an impersonal, mobile, friendship-rationed society. This trend toward a "trailer-minded" society began long before the war. Trailer towns know little of traditional neighborhood life, of intimate day-to-day talk with friends, and of neighborhood stores and theaters. People who live in trailers know practically nothing about working at some community problem together, or of recreation at home in which the entire family participates.

There are a few trailer towns and emergency housing areas that have developed a sort of egg-borrowing camaraderie and a defensive clannishness, but in most areas there are no neighborhood activities and little visiting among the people. Because you live next door to a person no longer

seems to insure acquaintance or common participation in activities. War-housing areas and many of our residential suburbs are not neighborhoods, but lines of houses where strangers come after work to eat supper, read the headlines of a paper, listen to the radio, and go to bed.

NEW WAYS FOR NEW TIMES

The church's effort to make communities out of trailer towns and emergency housing areas has become increasingly difficult. In many trailer areas where church, social, and government agencies have offered neighborhood recreational and educational activities for adults, they have not been fully used. Even block leaders of the defense councils often gave up efforts to call neighborhood meetings. In other boom-town areas churches have developed nurseries, playgrounds, community halls, libraries, club rooms, and have become avocational centers with classes in handicrafts, as well as centers for worship. One reason the church has taken a more active part is that the usual agencies meeting social needs have been swamped with requests and have been limited in leadership.

The church's efforts to center Christian education in the family have also met with greater difficulty during the war. Our Sunday school and church leaders have relied upon the cooperation of the family to teach Christian principles to children. But for millions of parents working in shipyards and factories and for children who spend their days in school or on the streets waiting for their fathers and mothers to come home, there is little family life.

Some of the churches have seen that they cannot rely exclusively upon programs centered in the family and the neighborhood church, but must also devise programs that reach into the factories, schools, and unions, into business and special interest groups where men, women, and children spend most of their time.

The Methodist Commission on Evangelism and two of the local Pascagoula churches have sponsored concerts of religious music played from sound trucks at the shipyard gates while the shifts changed, in order to reach the worker at the factory and on the street. Classics in sacred music were played. The results were excellent. People were brought into fellowship with the churches who could not have been reached in any other way.

However, the South's emphasis on visitation evangelism has always been a valid one and has remained the old standby for reaching new people during the war. Roy C. Clark, minister of the Eastlawn Methodist Church, believes that the church has a job "of re-establishing contact with individuals who have been church members, so that they will not be lost to the churches for good. It is a matter of conservation of allegiance." The churches, Mr. Clark told me, have found that they can distribute thousands of religious tracts, hold mass evangelistic meetings, buy or beg radio time and newspaper space—and all are needed in reaching new people—but all these are wasted without the quiet, earnest talk of resident with newcomer about the meaning of a personal faith and the values of church membership in strengthening that faith. No organization has yet found a

substitute for leg work. Results have demonstrated this fact.

From the experiences of laywomen visitors in Pascagoula and across America this decalogue for reaching new people has been compiled:

1. Before making calls help your church to change its program so that it will more adequately meet the needs of the new people. Then you can witness better to the meaning of your religion and your church.

2. If you live near areas into which many people have recently moved, ask to be assigned to your home district. It will aid you in making contacts and conversation.

3. Talk to the people about their problems. Find out their religious interests and needs.

4. Don't get all dressed up like a fashion plate. You'll look slightly out of place in a dusty trailer camp.

5. Don't try to see too many people. Don't go visiting when you're tired and discouraged. You are out to encourage people.

6. Don't force your help or attention.

7. Make the first visit short.

8. Hide your shock at any living conditions you may find. Don't say, "What a nice place you have," when it's a make-do shack.

9. Note all clues of special interests in the life of the church, in hobbies, and the like. Friendships can be built on them.

10. Keep a notebook or calendar for appointments and information about people. Don't take notes while visiting.

Church workers report that the more lonely the newcom-

ers, the less able they seem to be to find friends. The initial move must come from established church members.

The Pascagoula program of visitation evangelism, like that in many other communities, has been hampered by lack of cooperation among churches. There has been little sharing of information collected by visitors, and a failure to organize and distribute responsibility so that all areas of the city will be equally reached. Each church has, for the most part, tried to take care of its own people in its own way. One minister had a pile of cards on his desk representing one hundred and fifty families, all of denominations other than his own. Not one of these families had become affiliated with a church in Pascagoula. The minister would have liked to share this information, but it was a long and difficult task to get in touch with all the ministers who could use the cards. Pascagoula ministers at that time had no system for clearing such information with one another.

The over-all record of cooperation among churches ministering to boom towns in America has been unprecedented and magnificent. The war emergency has enlisted the cooperation of religious groups whose participation in interdenominational work, heretofore, had been meager. Early in the war Protestants saw that local communities and churches could not alone meet the expenses or organizational details of providing a ministry to millions of uprooted people.

A PROTESTANT MASTER PLAN

The Christian Commission for Camp and Defense Communities was created jointly by the Federal Council of

Churches of Christ in America, the Home Missions Council of North America, and the International Council of Religious Education. This commission, together with the events of the war, has changed the attitudes of hundreds of thousands of members toward the community responsibility of the church, and toward interdenominational cooperation.

The commission, made up of denominational representatives, does three things: (1) It studies the total needs of boom towns over the nation and then provides at least a minimum of service to more than seven hundred crucial camp and industrial cities. (2) It discourages competitive denominationalism and acts as a clearing house between all social agencies and the churches. The larger parish ideas worked out in Baltimore are transferred to Wichita. The movable church perfected in Detroit is copied in Bridgeport. The success of Negro-white vacation Bible schools in Vanport City, Oregon, encourages Rhode Island churches to try interracial classes. (3) The commission aids churches in developing a community master plan. Since boom towns are a new mission area, there have been fewer carry-overs of outmoded programs.

It is a tragedy that it took a war to develop new techniques of cooperation, when more community-wide surveys and planning have been needed for decades in our complicated and interwoven modern society. In boom towns such as Cleveland, Dayton, Wichita, Detroit, Baltimore, and Los Angeles we are seeing new results from a coordinated program. The Protestant churches show an increased ability to work with all social agencies in planning for an entire city.

Employment of experts to develop new welfare programs has provided a needed yardstick for church institutions (old age homes and orphanages, for example) that have failed to keep pace with the best developments in professional social service. Protestantism now speaks with a powerful and united voice for public housing programs, for adequate recreation facilities, and for the elimination of racial discrimination.

But even more serious than the tragic fact that it took a war to produce this cooperation is the impending danger that the foundations we have built may never be fully used in peacetime. The thousands of dollars spent, the hours of service given in training workers in community and social strategy, may be lost. This new basis of community cooperation is one of the most important achievements that the Protestant churches have to show from the war. We have just held the line in membership, but we have advanced in the development of new techniques for cutting across class lines, and for reaching every section of a city regardless of the ability of any community to support a full church program. We have developed a corps of civilian chaplains who have learned how to work with groups, how to solve difficulties caused by racial differences, and how to serve industrial workers.

Many denominational leaders whom I interviewed on these trips believe that wartime cooperative programs were intended only for the duration. At the same time champions of interdenominationalism are asking if cooperation that has been good for wartime is not good for peace. Civilian chaplaincy programs, larger parishes, and community centers will

be needed in many of the new industrial areas for several years after the war.

THE PATTERN OF MIGRATION

We know the pattern of internal migration during this war. The drift of people has been from the middle states and rural areas toward the edge of the nation. Since 1940 from five to ten million of our people have swarmed out of the Middle Atlantic states, out of Minnesota, the Dakotas, and other North Central states, out of the Mountain states, Kentucky, Tennessee and East Central states. These people trekked out to the West Coast to work in California, Oregon, and Washington industries, to the great assembly lines in Michigan and Illinois, and to the shipbuilding and embarkation points in the Gulf states and on the East Coast.

Within states millions more have moved from farm areas to the war plants. As cities sought laborers, they expanded their commuters' services to reach the small communities near them and the cut-over land areas where during the depression people had set up housekeeping in shacks made of driftwood and discarded signs. The centers of growth were spotty and comparatively few, focusing around one hundred and thirty cities, such as Detroit, Washington, Chicago, Los Angeles, Corpus Christi, and Seattle.

This mass migration has reached into almost every home. Since 1940 one in every ten Americans has been involved in population changes.

In World War I, there was a much larger migration of Negroes to the North than during this war. In the South

migration rates for the Negro have been lower than for whites. The war industries have been distributed in such a way that most of them are away from the great reservoirs of Negro labor. And laws preventing labor recruiting and the problem of getting clearance from United States Employment Service have kept many Negroes at home.

FAIR DEAL TO PASCAGOULA NEGROES

The Pascagoula churches had a large part in developing a moral conscience in the city about the treatment of the Negro. Pascagoula's fair and equal sharing of housing, medical, and educational facilities with the Negro migrant worker is an example to the nation. From its first housing project to its new schools it has divided expenditures equally between whites and Negroes. Pascagoula's schools pay the highest salaries for colored teachers in the state. It has the highest percentage of Negroes owning their own homes of any city in the South.

A Pascagoula minister told me: "Our church and civic leaders have made every effort to anticipate the needs of the Negro rather than wait for him to compel us to provide for his needs. We have tried to act from principle, not compulsion. We believe that the social welfare programs of southern churches can go forward only when we are willing to help the Negro as much as the white man, for real social service cuts across racial lines."

The success of Pascagoula in its race relations program indicates the precarious perch from which Northerners look down on the southern treatment of the Negro. The North-

erner has too often used the worst conditions in the South as an excuse for doing nothing for the Negro in the North.

DO OLD SOCIAL LINES GO DOWN?

Pascagoula churches that have welcomed the new war workers into their membership have experienced a rebirth of religious democracy. The new members have broken down old social lines within the Christian fellowship and have often brought new ideas and enthusiasm. In almost every church, housewives, professional people, salesmen, and shopkeepers have taken industrial jobs during the war. A few girls have left high school and college to take their places in the factories.

This is typical of what has been happening over the nation. Hundreds of thousands of church women who formerly spent many of their afternoons in club meetings have learned the feel of grease on their hands and the pulse of power drills and lathes. And overnight, many have come to understand for the first time the deadening effects of monotonous machine labor, long hours, and the speed-up, the values of collective bargaining, and the responsibilities of union membership.

Some church leaders say that the war gave the Protestant church the opportunity of a century to break through its own class lines and to become a church of all people. But it is an opportunity only if ministers understand and interpret this change in the attitudes and lives of their members and if they seek to aid temporary residents to find their way into the life of the community through the church.

There is little doubt that this war has brought to many people, young and old, their deepest satisfaction as members of society. They feel a part of a great national crusade. Organizations, instead of inventing things to do, must now choose among many significant activities. The "moral equivalent" of war, many ministers are saying, must be a dramatic drive for peacetime social service in all America. The "economic equivalent" of war—big profits and easy wages—will be gone. Already some old-line residents are putting pressure on municipal and state governments for zoning laws to push the wartime workers out of their cities and for settlement laws that will make it impossible for people to receive relief who have not been in the state at least three to five years. They bluntly state, "We won't play Santa to migrating foreigners." They say that during the last depression they played Santa to these migrants and it must not happen again. "Why, you know what those people are like. Keep coal in bathtubs, wear gaudy clothes, go hallelujah in church."

Since there will be a housing shortage after the war, many civic leaders believe that many of these improvised, planless settlements will not be dismantled, despite legal provisions to the contrary. They are made of material that will wear poorly. In a few years they may be our worst slums, our tuberculous death traps, and our obstacles to orderly development of urban areas. Without government subsidies, some sort of national housing plan or large-scale slum clearing and private housing program, they will linger on and spread their blight. Much of the hostility to newcomers grew out of this

fear that the residential neighborhoods would deteriorate, that real estate values would decline, and that the aftermath of the war would be heavier taxes and debts.

THE BIG JOB COMES AFTER THE WAR

The task of church leaders, according to Dr. Mark A. Dawber, executive secretary of the Home Missions Council of North America, is to make clear that community and church programs will be needed more after the war than during it. Millions of families will again be cut adrift, or forced to live in pasteboard, prefabricated dwellings built to last at best for two or three years. If the previous postwar period is any indication, juvenile delinquency will rise, not decrease, and the uprooted will multiply after this war.

The church has an educational job in making America not only accustomed to mobile labor, but responsible to it. Under today's agricultural economy and a highly shifting industrial economy, migrating labor is here to stay. Churches must learn to provide the best short-term religious programs possible and to preach to a procession.

The Rise of New Sects

ON a simmering summer day in 1944, a field representative of the American Bible Society valiantly tramped up to a broken-down tenant shack deep in the Ozarks to bring the occupants a five-cent copy of the Word of God—and discovered that the tracts of the Jehovah's Witnesses were already there.

This is but a symbol of one of the most significant events in the religious life of our time and of our country. Protestant sects, disgruntled with the old line denominations and interested in "the inward perfection and fellowship" of their own members, are sweeping across America like a spiritual hurricane. The movement of people during the war has accelerated that spread. Before the war many of the sects were confined to rural areas, but as rural people went to the cities to make the implements of war, they took their religion with them. If they could find no religious institutions that preached their own particular set of religious beliefs, they began their own small, voluntary groups, in abandoned stores and garages or in their homes.

The triumphant gospel of Jesus Christ, commonly asso-

ciated with little white churches on fertile hills or sturdy granite cathedrals on downtown corners, is now mirrored in the unsteady light of a candle on the bare board wall of a pentecostal church. Many of the people who gather there are the so-called "downtrodden" and the "forgotten," the "outcastes of all our castes," who in turn have denied the world and have found peace in the everlasting love of Christ.

Many members of the conventional, liberal middle class church have had difficulty understanding this type of religious revival. They have thought this a wartime phenomenon, soon to pass. But now it appears that this movement bears striking resemblance to the great evangelical revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and that it has been increasing in strength during the past two decades.

There is no way of knowing the exact size of this folk-upsurge. Estimates from three million to twenty million active members have been given by students of the sect movement. Census records indicate that since 1926 the larger sects have had the greatest membership growth of any religious groups. While the total church membership increase of all denominations was 25.5 per cent for the period from 1926 to 1942, percentages for the large pentecostal groups increased 197.9 per cent, and those under "evangelistic associations," 87.3 per cent. Reports of some of the smaller bodies show tremendous increases: Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, 664 per cent; Church of God and Saints of Christ, 450.1 per cent; and Christian Congregation 2,033.3 per cent. Other small pentecostal bodies have flourished a while and disappeared.

“WE WILL NOT REACH ENOUGH PEOPLE IN TIME”

One Sunday evening at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, I attended a tent revival meeting, and afterward had the privilege of talking with the evangelists, Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Parsons, about their religion. They, like thousands of other people convinced of the early return of Christ, have given up war jobs and sold their personal possessions in order to buy a tent and go on the road to preach their gospel. For “the time before Christ will return is surely not long.”

All the people who came and went during our conversation were fired with the same intense urgency and fear that “we will not reach enough people in time.” One mother regretted having her son in the army because she is certain he will be caught in the judgment, after which God will fashion a new and sinless world.

Certainly the Parsons' have caught the mood of our times. We are in the last days of many things. In every village and city in America there has arisen a “Cult of the Dead,” marked by little monuments bearing the names of boys who will never return. They can be seen on almost every courthouse square and on many school and church lawns.

All the hopes to which the Parsons' once clung are gone. The depression wiped out their home and their land. They have known a God of judgment and wrath as well as a God of love. Man and his sinful state delights them not. So there remain only eternal, other-worldly values for the Parsons'. In such days, the Parsons' reminded me, Jesus said, “And then shall they see the Son of Man coming in a cloud with power and great glory.” (*Luke 21:27.*) The sun will

stop, the world will end. All our little half-gods of money, worldly amusements, pride, and respectability will mean nothing. Only the Son of God will mean anything.

This is the mood of the Parsons' and in it they have found a new meaning and hope in life. This idea that we are in the last days is one of the sources of their evangelistic zeal. It is a note that in many generations has driven the church and her saints to new heights of religious fervor.

It is no secret how these churches that dissent from the old-line denominations are growing. It is through the enthusiasm and earnestness of their members. This fact is crucial to the understanding of how most evangelism works. It is not the argument that wins a convert, but the fact that religion means something in the person's life that is seeking to win him. As the Parsons' say, "Send out your most stammering, hesitant man to spread your faith, if he is the man in your group to whom religion seems to mean the most. He will win more members than all the smooth-talking, 'respectable,' 'successful' Christians."

The sect members shout their religion, sing it, pray it wherever they are—in the factory, field, or on the road. Their religious tracts are written and printed to catch the attention of people on the run, and are more arresting in display of large headlines and striking pictures than the publications of the more staid denominations. They will invest money in throw-away leaflets, printed signs, local religious newspapers, or a printing press before they will buy or rent a building.

As leaders move from city to city, they leave a little group of people, sometimes only three or four, to organize a con-

gregation to spread "the message." And because these people believe so fervently in their gospel, they are willing to spend several hours each day in evangelistic work. In the sect of the Jehovah's Witnesses alone, forty-five thousand men and women give part or full time each week to carrying the gospel by tracts, records, and preaching. In 1933, they distributed twenty-six million pamphlets and books. These witnesses are greater in number than all the professional gospel carriers or ministers of the Congregational Christian, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches combined.

The Parsons' were eager to talk about their faith. They do not believe that when a man is saved he can sin no more. They believe that he overcomes sin again and again in his life because he is saved. Man needs to repent of his sins, they say, but he needs to feel that he has been victor over sin occasionally. Otherwise, for them there would be no drive to keep on trying to be good. The pattern of behavior that the Parsons' ask people to follow in finding salvation is not new. The seeker has first an overbearing sense of sin. Then he confesses his sin, hopes for forgiveness and pleads for Christ to intercede in his behalf, and finally finds relief. The Parsons' appeal directly to the Scripture for the authority of their beliefs and not to any religious pronouncements of ecclesiastical officials.

Common to all the sects is an effort to be a moral community separate from the evil world and its secular concerns. Most sect members calmly accept their economic and social status, finding compensation for it in their otherworldly religion. One minister of a large downtown church

said to me, "The sect people know they are illiterate and stay away from our churches." And Mrs. Parsons replies, "We alone have the true religion." The truth that lies between these two extremes is that the belief in the kingdom of God is not the exclusive possession of any one group of people. Salvation is given by God to those who seek it, no matter how humble their station in life.

I told the Parsons' that many of the pentecostal ministers seemed to place more emphasis on the outward signs that they associate with being saved, such as getting the jerks, than on the act of salvation itself. They explained that the ministers desired to make the act of atonement and salvation central, but that the congregation often put pressure on the minister to indicate a visible way of selecting those that had been saved.

SECTS AND SOCIAL ACTION

"Social action" leaves the Parsons' cold. They seek first of all a conversion in a man's life. They cannot understand the labeling of one area of Christian work as "social action." The converted man naturally tries to be a Christian in all that he does. Of course, he wouldn't steal while at work any more than he would at home. The Bible says not to steal, and that is that.

The Parsons', as most of the pentecostal sect members, do not believe in card-playing, movie-going, dancing, mixed bathing, or smoking. This Puritan asceticism is a protest against the worldliness of other churches, against church members who cannot be distinguished from those who are

not church members. It springs also from a Pauline dislike of the fleshly sins. But it is an in-the-world asceticism. The Parsons' do not withdraw from the responsibilities of society, although some of the other pentecostal groups refuse to hold public office, to vote, to live in government housing, or to take oath. There is nothing in the least artificial about the Parsons' denial of worldly amusement. They are so happy in their religion that they have no time for other pleasures. The sociologist may say that they deny themselves the things that they could not afford to do anyway or that were considered bad in the rural areas from which they came. But this does not explain a man's motives or a religion that gives a man strength to deny himself.

The Parsons' cannot be forgotten easily. They are typical religious leaders of the majority of the lower income groups in America. It is with preachers such as the Parsons' that Claude Williams of the People's Institute of Applied Religion worked in Arkansas. In spite of whatever opinion one may have of Mr. Williams' political and economic views, it must be recognized that he early and rightly saw that the leaders of the pentecostal groups, not the educated Protestant ministry, are leading the people at the bottom of the economic level. He also found, like Heinrich in Tuskegee, that it is not difficult to direct evangelistic enthusiasm into constructive social action. In rural communities near Nettleton, Mississippi, I also found the Reverend E. E. Stidham is also combining worship with a constructive program of supervised recreation, agricultural economics, and cooperative purchasing and marketing.

The Parsons' believe that too many of our churches have been concerned with the methods of doing things and not enough with the faith from which comes the will to do things for others. On the other hand, most pentecostal ministers are poorly educated and hold extremely naïve ideas of society and of the ways of meeting the social needs of their people. The Parsons' and all pentecostal people to whom I have talked are quite willing to use journalistic and sociological techniques to improve their work. But all methods must be used for one end—to spread their particular interpretation of the gospel.

Trailer towns and low-cost housing areas often need a religion that will pull the community together and direct its energies toward providing an over-all religious, recreational, and social program. Yet pentecostal leadership in such emergency areas has often divided the community, setting group against group, condemning all organizations but their own as "cold, worldly, and reprobate." Many of the sect leaders whom I have met have no sense of a parish program. Their groups grow up in a night and often perish in a night, leaving an unsettled and war-shocked community with a greater sense of insecurity than before.

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION

I visited several fly-by-night pentecostal missions that local investigators for social agencies said were run by men of questionable character who were using religion for personal gain. The sects have no monopoly on such "rackets." It is true that among the leaders of the new sects men are found

who practise the tactics of the demagogue and who in the vocabulary of religion advocate anti-Semitism, anti-internationalism, and other "isms." Religion means so much to the sect-follower that the minister has tremendous influence over him. The minister feels that power and is corrupted at times by it. Certainly if an American demagogue wants to control the lower income groups in our country, he will use emotional sect religion as a means. Such demagogues are a sinister threat and must be dealt with by all churches.

During the war there has appeared among the "holy roller" groups an alarming number of "jack rabbit" sky pilots and itinerant preachers, many of them former circus barkers, hucksters, and press agents from the fringe of the show business. They hold "religious" meetings to get money from hard-working and sincere people. Some of these movements have the backing of native Fascists. But the reactionary movements today within liberal churches recognized as such indicate that the ecstatic groups have no monopoly on proto-fascism.

At their best the sects have an answer for the guilty feelings of millions of people for whom sin is still a consuming problem. They offer abundant opportunity for self-expression in their services and for proficiency in Bible study. They continue to emphasize the faith-healing motif of religion that the regular churches have all but eliminated from their programs. They improve the moral life of their members. Drinking and gambling are given up. Debts are conscientiously paid off, in order to "wipe the slate clean for the coming day." The sects also point up the importance of

emotion in religion. Consecration services, candlelight hours, and prayer meetings of the middle class liberal churches are often cool, calculating affairs in comparison with pentecostal meetings.

Some of these sects challenge the stewardship of the old-line churches. Most members tithe. Figures for the 1942 offerings of the Seventh Day Adventists, a sect group that is clearly well along in the transition from a sect to a church, reveal that North American members gave more than fifteen million dollars, or \$77.14 per capita! Much of the money went for broadcasting. Religious broadcasting for the newer sects and the fundamentalist groups has become big business. The Mutual Broadcasting System, the only network selling time to church groups, did a \$2,109,613 business with religious organizations in 1942. Most of the time went to the Old Fashioned Revival Hour (\$929,698), Voice of Prophecy of the Seventh Day Adventists (\$408,236), Radio Bible Class of M. R. De Haan, and similar programs heard in all parts of the country.

Several of the older denominations have appointed research men to study this growing sect movement in America. This study can be extremely valuable, if it is done in a spirit of good will and with a desire to understand the sects, and not because the older churches are afraid of losing members from the lower income groups and want to save themselves. The results of such study will also need to be utilized in theological seminaries for preparing ministers to work with both sects and old-line churches and to develop cooperation among Christians who differ in religious belief.

THE SECT AND THE CHURCH

The average Protestant church member needs, first of all, to understand that the religious experience of the sect convert is real, that it has great meaning to him, whether or not he can give an intellectual statement about it. The early Christians had great difficulty in telling people what it was that they experienced when they were saved by Christ. But they felt their faith so deeply that they won followers. Most of these people have not grown up under the restraints of the calm and dignified church service. They let themselves go in church. There is little of the deliberative, calculative element in the Parsons' religion. It is entirely spontaneous.

In the second place we must understand the basic differences between the sect and church type of religious institution, and the highly fluid and dynamic relationship between them.¹ A sect arises as a schism from a church or another sect. The great majority of sect members at one time belonged to an older established denomination. If a sect survives as a religious group, it inevitably moves toward the church type, accomplishing the transition from sect to church. The sect begins with a few members meeting in a room or an old store at no regular time and with the leadership of a part-time minister. It gains a following and decides to buy a small building and hire a janitor for its care. Soon its gifts are great enough to afford a full-time minister. As the sect becomes more successful and its financial assets increase, it begins to expand, to acquire more property, and to

¹ *Millhands and Preachers*, by Liston Pope, Chapter 7, Yale University Press, 1942.

regularize its services. The few members who get the economic breaks become comparatively wealthy, give more to the sect, and thus begin to control its life. As the sect increasingly accepts the cultural and worship patterns of a church, the poorer, uneducated members drop out and join other and newer sects. Thus the cycle begins all over again.

The shift of the religious group from a sect to a church can be noted in its change from a group without property to a group with an increasing institutional wealth represented in schools, large church buildings, publishing houses, and the like. The sect that is becoming a church changes its policy from non-cooperation with established denominations to one of cooperation. It becomes a more stable institution that grows not only through conversions in emotional revival meetings but also through the addition of young people of its families, who have been nurtured in its program of religious education. In the eighteenth century for example, the Episcopal communion in many parts of the Atlantic seaboard was the church of the aristocracy. Farther inland on the advancing frontier settlement were to be found the "sects" of that day, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Presbyterians.

As we look at the contemporary American religious scene with its many churches and sects, there are important questions for all Christians to consider seriously. Does the faith represented by these sects best meet the religious needs of great masses of American people? Does the development of new sects remind the churches that they have failed to transcend social barriers, to erase color lines, and to make the preservation of their own vested interests secondary to

the attainment of the ideals of the gospel? Are churches responsible for the conditions that result in the rise of sects?

As we seek to phrase our answers to such questions, we may study the words of Dr. H. Richard Niebuhr, in his book *Social Sources of Denominationalism*, reminding us that Christianity began as a "religion of the poor, of those who had been denied a stake in contemporary civilization." Christianity itself was a religious revolution.

Change in the Churches' Interracial Program

IN Pine Bluff, Arkansas, arsenal boom town and home of the Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College,¹ a disturbing revolt comes to focus with dynamite for Protestantism. It is the revolt of young Negroes against the ineffectiveness of the church's usual interracial program.

Before the war Pine Bluff was proud of the South's improving racial understanding—fewer lynchings, more cooperation between the leaders of both races, and increased opportunity for Negroes. But the war brought new problems to the South—thousands of Negro troops stationed in southern camps; thousands of northern troops, white and Negro; in southern quarters; disappearance of domestic helpers to war jobs; rising criticism from the northern press and Negro leaders.

The Negro leaders were revolting against segregation in all

¹ A. M. and N. College is Arkansas' only state-supported college for Negroes. The white students have four agricultural schools, one university, and three teachers' colleges.

institutions. But of all the institutions in America in which they felt they should not expect or accept segregation the Christian church was foremost. The Negro's new mood was well illustrated at a church conference in which a white churchman asked for "patience" from the Negro in "these trying times." The president of Arkansas A. M. and N. answered him: "The church has been preaching patience too long. We Negroes have heard churchmen say, 'Wait a while,' until we're tired of it. We want action."

The church's interracial programs have been largely confined to joint conferences, exchange of congregations once a year, and annual interracial camps, led by white and Negro young people.

Earl Evans, until recently a student at Arkansas A. M. and N. and co-chairman of the Southwest Council of Student Christian Associations, is typical of the young Negro social liberal. He is an inveterate church conference attender and supporter. He has been the first Negro to attend several previously "lily white" conferences. And he has patiently served as a human guinea pig at all of them. At a Colorado "Y" conference he was invited into a fireside circle. No one there had ever seen a Negro "up close." They asked to look at his hands. They asked him why they were white on the inside and black on the outside. They asked him if Negro babies are born black. "It was nothing but absolute and sincere ignorance," he said. "So I took it and I made friends, and at the next conference there were more Negroes invited. There can be no substitute for educational programs that bring individuals of diverse races and prejudices to-

gether in an atmosphere of fellowship," Earl Evans concluded.

There used to be two Arkansas "Y" conferences—one for whites, one for Negroes. But they are now held together at Hollister, Missouri. The person responsible for this move, says Mr. Evans, is Miss Ferne Babcock, one-time secretary of the Southwest Region of the Y.W.C.A., now with the national office in New York City. Prior to each meeting the officers, white and colored, work out their strategy. Literature announcing the conference goes only to "Y" offices. It does not publicize the interracial program, for many people in Arkansas and Missouri do not look upon such things with a kindly eye. At the first meal of the conference, no one announces, "We shall all eat together." There is only one place to eat. Games are played that mix up the racial groups.

Mr. Evans believes that the chief hope of improvement of Negro-white relations rests with the young people. He also feels there should be little doubt in the church's mind by now that conferences alone are not the solution. They are valuable only when they stir the young people to action that gets down to the origin of race attitudes and does something to remove the conditions of segregation that produce hatred and prejudices. He is against conferences that create a façade of harmony where none exists. He is also against committees that "echo the obvious, resolve, scratch each other's backs, publish a report that nobody reads, and then adjourn until called."

At one of the recent conferences Mr. Evans made a speech that, he says, had burned within him for five years. "The Christianity here is lovely. The brotherhood at the confer-

ence is so beautiful I sometimes cry at night with the happiness of it," he said. "But I'll have no more of it again until this time next year. After the conference you white people will go down to your train and I'll go into my Jim Crow car, and all will be the same again. These conferences alone can never help the Negro. One conference a year won't keep a boy converted from Negro-hating, if he lives the rest of his time in a Negro-hating society. The forces that drove us apart before the conference are still there, even though we have met here."

Earl thought he had made just another speech. But when the conference ended and a tired bunch of Negro and white young people boarded the train, the white conferees crowded into the Jim Crow car with the Negroes. "The conductor," says Earl, "almost went crazy." He threatened; he cajoled. But the group sang a conference song—"In Christ There Is No East or West." The conductor finally asked who the young people were.

"Christians," a leader answered. "We've just left an interracial conference."

The conductor hesitated, then said, "I'm very sorry. You may stay. I didn't know what sort of group you were."

"We made a beginning at taking Christianity out of conference halls," Earl Evans said humbly.

Thousands of young people across America have made a similar beginning.¹

The Kingsport, Tennessee, Christian Youth Association

¹ Part of the following material on interracial programs of young people is based on an unpublished thesis by Sara Little.

held a stay-at-home-conference to ask themselves, "Dare We Be Christian in Our Community?" Their first answer was a nursery for twenty-nine Negro children below school age who were without care because their parents were working. Next, they secured an extension library for the Negroes and protested denial of the public library to colored people. They collected facts on local slums, rang doorbells, did enough leg work to get civic leaders to take action on a slum clearance project for Negroes and whites. Now they have established a scholarship fund for the education of a Negro ministerial student.

At Fellowship House in Philadelphia the action of one hundred and fifty Negro and white young people roots in a deep religious desire to see the brotherhood of man prevail in all social relationships. They do not simply approach individuals or hold good will suppers. They organize mass meetings, raise funds, lobby, unite with national and local pressure groups on specific issues, battle for civil liberties in the courts, make special investigations in tension areas, and organize press and radio educational campaigns to give the facts they discover a hearing. When they get radio time they don't just talk; they dramatize their material, so that statistics can be seen in their human implications.

There are similar interracial fellowships in Baltimore, New York, and some other cities. The members ask other individuals to unite with them for collective action, realizing that alone any individual has little influence on social and political matters.

In Wooster, Ohio, racial tension grew as more Negroes

came into the city for war jobs. A church youth group interviewed four hundred and fifty people on racial attitudes in order to help Negroes find new places where they could work, eat, and room. The young people went on record: "Only through the application of Christian principles and through the spirit of Christ, can anything lastingly constructive be done to make for a better social order."

Young people in one church in Greenwood, South Carolina, heard a talk by a Negro boy on the town's need for adequate health and housing facilities. They secured the aid of a sociology professor in planning strategy, called on Negro high school students to help them make the survey of housing needs. The results were published in the local paper and the young people carried the facts to civic and church groups. When the young people found they could not make their influence strong enough by working alone, an interdenominational youth organization was formed. Unable to carry the housing program through on the first campaign, they tackled a more pliable situation, determined at least to ameliorate the Negro's situation until more basic work could be done. They collected books and organized the first Negro library in the community, provided toys, clothes, dental care, and food for three hundred Negro children.

Some of this work is still on a segregated plane, but both races work together in all of these groups, whether or not they can get the community itself to establish interracial libraries, churches, schools, and housing areas. Many young people who have pioneered in interracial work say, "Since Negroes and whites work together in hundreds of unions and

factories over America, the church's interracial program will also have to break down the patterns of segregation." They suggest that social action planning be done in meetings in which both races come together. They wish to avoid programs that smack of paternalism—of the father-to-little-boy attitude—in which the nice big white man takes toys and books and food to the little Negro child, but never invites his father and mother into his church to work at problems with him, nor treats him as an equal before their common God. In paternalistic charity the white man's sense of superiority remains. The "man of privilege" is giving something to the "inferior man."

In short, there is little chance for interracial understanding when white young people build a playground for Negroes or stock a room with books and give it to them. But there is a new relationship if the two races build the playground and furnish the library together.

CATCHING UP WITH THE CHURCH'S YOUNG PEOPLE

A recent magazine poll reports that for sixty-nine per cent of American high school students it would make no difference whether their fellow workers were Negroes or Chinese, Jews, Catholics, or Protestants. The churches and other educational groups have done their job well. Obviously it is now time that we go beyond the interracial conference and educational stages and begin to sponsor interracial churches and community projects on a wide scale, rather than in isolated instances.

If we are so far along in our education of young people

on racial tolerance, there is nothing wonderful about church interracial conferences. They should be accepted without ballyhoo. They should be planning grounds for local year-round interracial programs that will make our churches the exemplars of righteous conduct, rather than the most segregated major institution in America.

As one student at A. M. and N. said, in the past five years the C.I.O. has done more in the South than the church to break down prejudices toward the Negro and to teach Negroes and white people to work together. We must not forget this if we are to be sufficiently humble about the church's relationship with the Negro, nor must we become unduly discouraged and forget the immeasurable influence of the church in creating a "climate of opinion" in which men could work together successfully in unions and factories.

The real interracial work is to be done by local churches who refuse to follow the pattern of segregation. And at present, interracial churches in America are comparatively few in number. There are, however, more and more white ministers who are deliberately breaking social patterns by paying Negro domestic workers higher wages than the community level, are making regular sick calls to Negro people, riding in Jim Crow cars occasionally, and reading liberal white and Negro newspapers as well as local papers so they can avoid adopting local prejudices.

In America there are many groups with whom the individual church or church member can unite in order to seek racial justice through collective action.

1. There are groups based on racial solidarity, the "Negro fronts," organized to resist white domination. I saw them in the form of professional organizations, Negro fraternities, even burial associations. Many of them, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, are militant organizations that use legal methods to carry on an aggressive fight.

2. There are educational movements aimed at furthering interracial understanding largely by conference, discussion, literature, mediation, and conciliation. They are sponsored by colleges, both Negro and white, and a growing number of interracial committees and organizations—national, regional, state, and local.

Our church boards have done remarkable research on the race question. One of the best departments is directed by Dr. Charles S. Johnson under the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Christian Churches. The research has been so thorough that we would do well to use much of our money for a few years acting on what we already know.

On the denominational level, the next steps many church leaders recommend are: (1) Increase the opportunities for Negroes who want to be ministers to receive a theological education. As a beginning one of the southern denominational schools recently admitted two Negro theological students. (2) See that Negroes are represented on denominational boards in proportion at least to their membership in the church. (3) Refuse to hold denominational conferences where discrimination is practised in hotel and eating accom-

modations. This technique has been used in several cities within the past few years. (4) Give better support to legislation that aids the Negro.

We can see something of the problem facing the Negro after demobilization when we realize that even during a wartime manpower shortage there was powerful resistance in great areas of industry, labor, and the armed forces to the use of Negroes.

The Negro during the war has been largely employed in cantonment construction, ship building, and airplane manufacturing. The first is finished, the second is reducing its number of workers, the third, which fought hardest the use of the Negro, will probably try to turn him out first. The Negro is still concentrated in unskilled jobs and will be laid off first in any industrial shift. Also, the heavy migration of rural white people to industrial centers during the war will mean that many of these whites will want to stay on in peacetime and will get jobs first when there is a labor surplus. The solution of many of the Negro's problems is full employment. If there are jobs for all able and willing to work, the future will hold some promise for the Negro.

After the first world war, we permitted the Negro to lose almost all his precious economic and social gains. He was the first to become physically and psychologically uprooted by peace. He was the first fired, first pushed out of his war-time home. Many of the Negroes became migrants in the early postwar years as they searched for some place that would welcome them. "Protect-the-white-man's-job" movements blossomed and the white man took over the personal

and menial services, once the monopoly of the Negro. A well known Negro sociologist says it looks as though after this war the Negro will again find himself without stability in our society. The sincerity of American churches will be tested by their protest against the denial to Negroes of the full rights of citizenship.

Ministry to Industrial Workers

NEAR the community of Red Line in northeast Arkansas I visited an industrial chaplaincy in the country. It was conducted by the Reverend C. E. Koehler on the plantation of a household appliance manufacturer.

His home was a thousand-dollar, roughly finished house, such as those provided for all the company's farm families. He and his wife had planed down the doors, refinished the floors, painted the walls, and had achieved the effect of a very pleasant home. Some of the laborers on the plantation followed suit after they learned that Koehler, not the company, had done it.

Mr. Koehler was a troubled man the day I met him. His problem was not lack of attendance at his church. It seated one hundred people, and two hundred and fifty often came. It was not competitive denominationalism. Holiness people, Seventh Day Adventists, Baptists, Methodists, all went to his church.

His problem was paternalism. Before the plantation had a church, the company found it difficult to keep workers because they wanted a religious institution near by. The offi-

cials also felt that the moral supervision of a minister would make for more reliable and sober laborers. So the company had built a church—a nice one. And a mission board had supplied a minister—C. E. Koehler.

The workers knew the story of the church, and seemed to feel that it would be there whether they supported it or not. They would do almost nothing for it. When I was there collections averaged forty cents a Sunday for the entire congregation. The young people were tearing the leaves out of the hymnals.

Mr. Koehler was a hard-working, conscientious minister. He had ruined his health trying to make this the people's church. He was convinced that religious work would not succeed unless it was built up slowly from the support of the people themselves.

The plantation is operated by day laborers. They live in company houses and work for an hourly wage just as city workers do. In 1942 they were earning about three hundred dollars for a two-hundred-day working year. This pattern of agricultural production is becoming increasingly representative in the rural South. Large commercialized farms using day laborers and the latest mechanized and labor-saving equipment are taking the place of family-sized farms in many sections of America.

"FORTY ACRES AND A STEEL MULE"

The chief land owners in the South are manufacturing and insurance companies and land banks. Some groups such as the Southern Tenant Farmers Union want to see part

of the land of these companies redistributed. "Forty acres and a steel mule," they believe, can compete successfully with the big commercial farm interests. The government at present shows little inclination to attempt to carry out such a program of redistribution, and many of the large companies continue to extend their holdings and to fight in courts against the government's taking over loans in order to give lower interest rates to farmers. Meanwhile the increased consolidation of land and the operation of commercialized farms by companies is looked upon fearfully by many religious leaders in the rural field.

It was Mr. Koehler's opinion, however, that the status of the farm laborer will become increasingly that of the urban industrial worker. The rural industrial worker uses machines on the land, while the urban worker operates his tools in the factory. The workers in Mr. Koehler's parish liked being day laborers better than owning farms. He had helped several families to relocate on farms of their own only to have them come back to the company's plantation. He believed his day-labor church members were as religious and as happy as the small farm owners in his area.

Mr. Koehler believed that the responsibility of the church in such situations as his own was not to demand that the companies go back to family-sized farms—something that they would not do—but to ask these companies (1) to give employees adequate wages so that they can build their own churches, and (2) to allow them to have some say in the policies of the plantations so that they may grow through discharging such responsibilities.

When one returns to New York from Mississippi and finds offices of the Home Missions Council and those of several denominational mission boards across the street from or within a block of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, it seems appropriate. For many of the churches and communities that the Council and our denominational boards are trying to help in Mississippi are not only across the street from Metropolitan Life but right on some of the \$75,000,000 worth of land it owns. How many people who support mission work with the money they get from insurance policies and from the stocks of the company on whose plantation Mr. Koehler works realize the social and spiritual implications of the act?

There are many ministers working today—both in city and country—as industrial chaplains for companies. If they work under conditions similar to Mr. Koehler's, they tend to become company morale officers. In such situations many workers think the management has "bought religion for its side."

It would seem wise to ponder Mr. Koehler's experience well before we permit the government, companies, or labor unions exclusively to build churches or to hire ministers in new areas in which the church plans to work in the next few years.

The paternalism of many company farms will probably not end until there are strong collective bargaining organizations among farm workers as well as among city laborers. The principle of collective bargaining, as we have already seen, is well supported in the pronouncements of the

churches. It will, in the years ahead, have to be applied increasingly to agricultural wage earners. Ministers in positions such as that of Mr. Koehler will be able to say little about the church's position on such social issues.

CHAPLAIN TO MIGRANTS

A very different type of ministry to agricultural workers is sponsored by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches. Tall, dark David Burgess, graduate of Union Theological Seminary and experienced migrant worker who reacts to workers' grievances like a fire horse to the bell, has been made chaplain of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union. Mr. Burgess and his wife follow the various streams of migration of this union's members as they harvest crops in New Jersey, Florida, Michigan, Missouri, Arizona, and other states.

Mr. Burgess gives religious counsel to the workers, holds services for them, helps to improvise recreational programs, and represents the workers' grievances to the management. He also conducts an educational program of Bible study, soil conservation, and principles and ethics of collective bargaining.

Labor leaders have been most cooperative in making this religious ministry an integral part of their union program. "For once," says Mr. Burgess, "the representative of the church is seen coming out of the door of the labor union instead of the door of the employer."

Mr. Burgess recognizes that the danger inherent in his sort of chaplaincy is ethically the same as that faced by Mr.

Koehler—the danger of making religion appear to workers as something the support of which can be bought. But even greater, says Mr. Burgess, is the danger of making religion appear to be indifferent to the worker's needs. He believes that the Protestant churches have ignored the needs of labor groups so consistently that their representatives will do well to lean over backwards for a time in support of union activities. Because Mr. Burgess has carried the confidence of Mr. H. L. Mitchell and other Southern Tenant Farmers Union leaders, he is exercising some personal influence upon the choice of means used by the union to forward its cause.

Mr. Burgess has found that one out of ten of the union workers is a lay minister and the natural religious leader of the people. He has done most of his work through and with them. His ministry is an interracial one, for both Negroes and white laborers belong to the union. The Negro ministers sing their sermons in a loud moaning tone and lead the congregation in semi-spiritual, semi-improvised songs, which, Mr. Burgess says, are not taught at Union Theological Seminary. He and his wife are learning to accompany the hymns by guitar in an effort to establish a closer rapport with the workers.

The cooperation of local churches with Mr. Burgess and the migrant laborers has been varied. In Collingswood, New Jersey, the First Methodist Church donated three hundred hymn books, declining the payment the laborers were willing to make for the gift. In Camden, New Jersey, two large downtown churches would not permit the migrant workers to hold a worship service in their halls. So the first church

service was held at the union hall. Later the First Presbyterian Church opened its sanctuary to the workers for worship and its meeting rooms for a union grievance hearing after the service.

The increase of union-directed migrations of workers makes the type of chaplaincy developed by the Congregational Christian Churches timely and worthy of wide-scale use. In this instance, the church recognizes that the movement of farm labor to areas where it is most needed has become a part of our economy and has adjusted its ministry to it.

Mr. Burgess sees nothing wrong with the movements of people as such if the movements are for a purpose and if leaders are provided to direct the community life of the workers. The church has also indicated that it understands the necessity for organizing the itinerant worker and small farmer in order that their needs may be represented to national and state legislatures and before employers.

THE QUINCY INDUSTRIAL CHAPLAINCY

One of the most promising types of interfaith ministry to industrial workers in the city is now being carried on in Quincy, Massachusetts. The minister is the Reverend Chester Underhill, who deals with men and women where they work.

Mr. Underhill spent the first month of his ministry obtaining approval of his work from executives of the outstanding industries, union leaders, the pastors of the Protestant churches, the Roman Catholic clergy, and the Jewish

rabbis. He is appointed by and directly responsible to the Quincy Council of Churches, but is supported by the churches, management, and labor.

Mr. Underhill acts primarily as a religious counselor. He has offices in the major industrial plants, labor union headquarters, and the local Y.M.C.A. Most of this industrial minister's work is confined to helping workers solve their personal problems, securing the transfer of people with ill health to better shifts or easier work, and advising on marital relations. Most of his cases are alcoholics.

Some religious leaders in Quincy feel that such work could be done almost as well by the personnel departments of the factories. Others believe that personal evangelism and counseling such as Mr. Underhill now does is the main responsibility of an industrial chaplain and that the religious approach a minister has to such problems can be supplied by no one else.

It would appear that there are two necessary areas of work for the minister to a factory. He needs to concentrate on personal counseling, as Mr. Underhill is doing. And he needs to act as a liaison agent between the groups concerned—church, labor, management, and the public.

The ministry to San Francisco factories conducted by the Reverend Thomas Simpson emphasizes the latter. Mr. Simpson concentrates his work with groups rather than individuals. He is a fraternal delegate from the presbytery to the C.I.O. Industrial Union Council of San Francisco and head of the Chamber of Commerce's postwar planning commission. He has conducted conferences with labor, capital, gov-

ernment, church, and public representatives. The purpose is to help San Francisco plan for peace in the midst of war. He reports the points of view of management and labor objectively to the public and the churches, and reports the special needs of the industrial workers to community and church agencies. Several other similar chaplaincies are being developed on the West Coast. However, the program of industrial chaplaincies must not be made to appear larger than it now is. In October, 1944, the denomination having the largest personnel in this field, had but seven industrial chaplains in defense industrial areas.

The emergence of the religious ministry to industrial workers has great possibilities, particularly if adequate personnel is provided for work both with individuals and with groups. Such a chaplaincy has promise of breaking down the pattern of racial segregation now dominant in the church. When the chaplain holds religious services in the factories, he will usually be meeting with Negroes and whites together. When he invites the people with whom he works to the local churches, he will be expected to bring both groups as he does when he takes them to labor and factory meetings. The Christian Commission on Camp and Defense Communities has announced that it hopes many civilian chaplains now ministering to temporary war-housing communities will become chaplains to factories that are now at the very center of our society. It is to the factory that the church must go.

A Downtown Church Does a Downtown Job

I WENT to St. Louis primarily to study one church—Christ Church Cathedral. It is a downtown church doing a downtown church's job in the eighth largest city in the United States. St. Louis has had to adjust to 180,000 newcomers (mostly from the Ozarks), workers in the ordnance plant, Curtiss-Wright airplane factories, and other war industries. St. Louis had many difficult problems at the beginning of the war—labor strife, racism, housing shortage, smoke, and juvenile delinquency. Labor troubles during the war have decreased, due in part to the success of labor-management committees. But the war has so intensified race and delinquency problems that the postwar prospects for St. Louis are not happy. The city will be aided, however, by a liberal press and many churches that greatly influence the social consciousness of the St. Louis public.

The significance of Christ Church can best be understood against the background of the city's population mobility pattern, which is typical of most American cities. Wave after

wave of people came in from rural areas, were forced by their incomes to live in congested slum dwellings on the edge of the business district, and then gradually pushed out toward the suburbs. The well-to-do people who once lived near the center of town and built large downtown churches have moved into suburban areas, joining congregations on the periphery of the city, or maintaining loyalty to a downtown church with a once-a-week attendance.

GET TOGETHER OR YOU DIE

In St. Louis, as in many American cities, huge churches sit awkwardly in downtown areas, hemmed in by office buildings or slums, attempting to maintain a program for the remaining supporters on the outskirts of town. Around such churches are concentrated our worst urban ills—poor housing, lack of recreational facilities, high birth- and death-rates, delinquency, unemployment, low wages. In some cities these Protestant churches have been sold on the auction block as victims of population and cultural changes with which they could not cope. Others have been revived by over-all planning and coordination of Protestant forces in order to keep the city constantly surveyed and church programs adapted to meet new racial and economic groups pressing in upon them. "Get together, plan in terms of the whole community of all the people, or you die," the city seems to be saying to our churches. Many downtown churches with programs for professional and middle class people are now encompassed by German and Scandinavian, Polish and Italian, Jewish and Bohemian, Irish and Negro

industrial laborers. The church has had to devise a new type of ministry to serve these people, one that cuts across class and denominational barriers, heightens the symbolic and sacramental aspects of religion, and meets some of the social needs of the area.

The predominant Protestant strategy has been to liquidate gradually its churches in congested and slum areas in order to flee to suburban peace. Impoverished religious groups meeting in abandoned stores and garages and the Roman Catholic church have come in to fill the gap. But Protestants are seeking to develop through such churches as Christ Cathedral a new concept of the church as an institution ministering to all racial, national, and economic groups.

Dr. Sidney E. Sweet, dean of the cathedral, says, "Christ Church is a downtown church, doing a downtown church's job: namely, ministering to people when they are downtown." The cathedral's parish house program can almost be explained by this statement. It has a club that enrolls twenty-three hundred girls a year from factories, stores, and offices in downtown St. Louis; a boys' club drawing its members from the poorest section of the city; a men's luncheon club with a controversial speaker program; a women's club that has a gym and swim period, and crowns a beauty queen of its own at the same time St. Louis' Veiled Prophet Fête exalts young beauty. A Sunday evening program is held for three to four hundred soldiers, and services are conducted for foreign-born (Bulgarian, Hungarian, and others). The church has a policy of opening its halls to many different groups.

Through pulpit pronouncements and investigating committees, the cathedral makes its influence felt on important social issues in St. Louis. In 1942 this church successfully fought a proposal to put up a cheap portable high school for Negroes, after an expensive building program for white students had been carried through. As a result, the Negroes obtained a building equal to that of the whites. "The poor need the best facilities," said Dean Sweet. All of this work has the sympathetic cooperation of the bishop of the diocese, William Scarlett, whose "rumor clinic" in 1943 organized business and professional groups, labor leaders, and sociologists to track down race riot rumors.

The cathedral draws its financial support from all economic groups. "Unless they [church members] believe in the application of the teachings of Christ to their everyday lives and to all the economic, industrial, political, and international problems, I do not think they should call themselves Christians," said Dean Sweet. The poorer people served by the cathedral could never have built or financed the program alone. Wealthy members give money for an institution to serve all classes as part of the missionary and service function of Christianity.

GIRLS' CLUB OF TWO THOUSAND MEMBERS

On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred girls take over Christ Church Cathedral parish house. Suppers are provided, at cost, for the girls who come directly from work. They have a meal with their friends and then an evening of fun and

education. The classes consist of dancing (ballet, modern, square), games, voice culture, courses on the art of living, Bible, business, English, Red Cross work, and swimming. All courses are taught by the best teachers available.

As one girl said, "I work from nine to five punching holes in leather. Then at five when I am ready to scream from the monotony of doing the same operation one hundred times an hour, I run to the cathedral and at its door I leave all worries behind." The club was begun in 1907 by Mrs. N. C. Brodix.¹ Each year the courses were improved and enlarged to meet the changing needs of the girls. Some were becoming swaybacked and round-shouldered from their work in candy and shoe factories. Mrs. Brodix and the girls put up full-length mirrors and began to study posture correction. As advertisers put on the pressure to sell girls expensive hair-dos and cosmetic preparations, consumer education courses were introduced to give the girls tips and facts on beauty culture. As more of the girls married, the club introduced marital and courtship counseling and lectures by authorities on family problems.

In all courses teachers were selected who could relate their subject matter to Christianity. As the organization grew, the older girls assumed the responsibility of looking after newcomers, making them acquainted with the other members and with the personnel and purpose of the cathedral. An elected council of twenty-five girls set up the educational and recreational programs.

¹ Mrs. Brodix retired from the club's directorship in 1943. The present director is Miss Frieda Dexheimer.

Employers began telephoning Mrs. Brodix and other teachers for girls to take responsible positions, so the club developed a vocational guidance program.

Courses and travelogues were begun, to which the girls invited their parents, and fathers and mothers were encouraged to join Christ Church adult organizations. Thus the cathedral reaches the whole family.

In 1941, the club introduced coed classes in dancing. "The club," Mrs. Brodix said, "often engineers matches. We believe a courtship and marriage begun in a church has a better chance to succeed than if begun in a local beer hall."

Although the philosophy of eat-drink-and-be-merry has grown among some young people in America during the war and others have entered into marriage almost as casually as they buy a "coke," sex has never been much of a problem to the cathedral girls' club. The directors have held that a program that keeps girls busy and offers opportunities for healthy recreation can do more than exhortation to beat wartime mores or the problems of the "male shortage." The cathedral, through its club, has had a chance to counsel young people on wartime marriages and to give valuable aid to wartime mothers. The hard-working, honest-living, friendly girls who belong to the cathedral club still set the pattern for the majority of American youth.

THE CATHEDRAL AND SERVICE MEN

The cathedral parish house on Sunday nights concentrates on providing "something for the boys." That something may not be labeled religion but is the product of a church that

believes "cheerfulness, friendliness, and good will are a part of religion."

Before the cathedral program began, most downtown churches in St. Louis either closed up Sunday evenings or had short preaching services, forums, and religious dramas that were seldom attended by soldiers. For many of the men, Sunday was their one day off, and when evening came they sought enjoyment. The common complaint was that all the soldiers wanted to do was get a date and go to a local dive. The first part was usually right, but the second was out of necessity. The taverns and movies were the only places open Sunday evenings where one could take a date and stand a slight chance of enjoyment.

Finally, Dean Sweet asked the cathedral youth to plan as an experiment an evening they thought the soldiers would enjoy. These young people opened up the parish house for dancing preceded by an inexpensive banquet with singing earlier in the evening.

They arranged a highly selective system of securing girls for soldiers and organized a committee of soldiers on discipline to replace the M.P.'s. Each cathedral young person has a special job such as care of the swimming pool, locker room, refreshments, music, or hostessing. The organization is so smooth there seems to be none. As soon as a soldier arrives at the cathedral door, he is met, found a place in the group, and "set wise" to the evening's program.

There are sixty official girl hostesses who are pledged to dance with all the soldiers, to keep circulating, and to enlist the aid of girls recommended by other churches. A youth

committee passes on the behavior of the girls. Only two charged with "too short skirts, too much jitterbugging, too much roof-gardening" have been asked not to come back. Many of the soldiers learn to dance at the parish house. The girls are friendly, prettily dressed, and know how to handle a "line."

Behind the party scene is an organization that selects girls to write to soldiers who want pen pals; that sends books and letters to sick soldiers at near-by Scott Field, Fort Leonard Wood, Jefferson Barracks, and Park Field. It arranges for soldier counseling by Bishop Scarlett and Dean Sweet, and corresponds with mothers, telling them what their boys are doing.

The soldiers have the run of the cathedral buildings. Some take a book off into a quiet corner. Some couples go up to the roof garden. Some go into the cathedral to worship. I saw something there I should like to see again. I saw a soldier decide to pray. He walked in to look at the famous cathedral reredos. He seemed nervous, questioning. He started to go out the door, hesitated, then went back into the cathedral, and knelt down and prayed.

Some people in St. Louis believe that the cathedral program is not Christian. If one talks to the soldiers, they say it is one of the nicest things a church has ever done for them. If one talks to the police, they say the soldier drinking problem has been cut down because of the cathedral's program. If one reads the letters of parents written to the cathedral, they say, "Thank God for your church. You are providing for our sons the same kind of clean fun I would

want them to have at home. . . . I'll not worry now I know you are caring for my boy."

THE NATIONAL SITUATION

The newspaper headlines on juvenile delinquency during the war have impressed us with the sort of conditions that the Christ Church program counteracts. This and hundreds of other similar programs over America are still not enough to erase the grim and disheartening picture of young people in trouble in America. J. Edgar Hoover reports that the arrests in 1943 of boys under twenty-one for drunkenness rose 30.3 per cent over 1942. Arrests of girls on the same count increased 39.9 per cent.

There are cities that have almost no recreational or rehabilitation programs for young people. There is no place they can loaf, drink a coke, and dance. "It is beer joints or nothing." There are still parents who will play bridge, do civilian defense and Red Cross work, take jobs in canteens and war industries, but will not bother to give the time and attention necessary to help their own young people find wholesome things to do.

In almost every city I visited, police told me of children roaming the streets in the small hours of the morning, of kids asleep in cars outside beer joints waiting for their parents to take them home. Truancy is a national problem. In Mobile, Alabama, in 1943 two thousand children of school age were roaming the streets, going to movies, or working.

Thousands of high school age students are being exploited and overworked during this war. Many work after

school in drug stores, groceries, and restaurants for fifty cents to one dollar a half-day. Teachers report that many students are tired out, sleep in classes, and have no energy to study. Some teachers I interviewed estimate that one-third to a half of their high school students have regular jobs. In some states they can work in factories when fifteen, unless the work is hazardous.

There have also been thousands of young people who have quit high school to go to work for fabulous wages. Having become accustomed to this money it will be hard for them to accept the fact that they, as the least experienced of workers, will be among the first to be fired when production is curtailed. They have felt the excitement of a job and of financial independence. Many will not wish to return to school but will want to continue to work. Many church leaders of youth groups are advocating that these young people be given public-financed training programs to make them skilled workers, that the school-work program developed in some colleges be used in high schools, that school counseling programs be extended, and that the Victory Corps program of student volunteer service in hospitals, social agencies, and farms be continued after the war.

When people invent excuses not to care for young people—"costs too much" . . . "refer it to a committee" (that does nothing) . . . "not on the agenda"—there is something morally wrong. And this responsibility falls on the churches. I visited some churches with large Sunday school rooms that had refused to invite children of neighboring trailer areas, because "we don't want our children associating with riff-

raff." But these are exceptions rather than the general rule.

There are more than five hundred youth centers in America today, and hundreds more being planned. In almost every case the churches have cooperated in planning them, in providing leadership and support. At least half were initiated by church young people, according to reports to denominational offices. There may be scores more that have not been reported.

MORE THAN RECREATION IS NEEDED

The churches have seen that provision of recreational centers is not enough. The Washington, D. C., Council of Churches kept a spot map of juvenile delinquency cases and discovered that they concentrated around playgrounds and recreational centers. It was here most young people congregated and often stayed after the supervised program had ended. Some churches have broadened their adult education program to help parents meet their responsibilities to young people.

In many cities, day camps, church schools, and recreational centers are carrying on a program six days a week to give children something to do after regular school hours. Los Angeles County during the summer of 1943 held 413 vacation church schools with 105,250 pupils. Church leaders have insisted that the community cease considering schools as civic monuments to be locked up each day at four o'clock. They have made them centers of youth and adult recreation and avocational work. Church leaders have seen during the war the necessity of sitting in on meetings of community

planning and social agencies, in order to keep human needs before dollar needs.

The St. Louis technique of interesting young people in programs that were not for themselves alone, but for the whole community, is increasingly the pattern across America.

In Springfield, Massachusetts, young people in a Wesley Youth Fellowship decided to do more than hold parties and Sunday evening worship services. It was "serve or shrivel." They studied the fate of minority groups in their own community, investigated discrimination against a Japanese American citizen, sounded out candidates in a municipal election. They carried out a thorough, responsible study of local anti-Semitism, and are now trying to develop a program to combat it, based on the study.

Organizations that have been centering their emphasis on Sunday evening discussion sessions instead of community action are going to be miserably unfit for the tasks that will be ours these next few years. Many sociologists predict that we face a wave of reaction, fanaticism, and hi-de-ho living after this war much worse than that following World War I. The possibility of such a future should put every youth and adult church organization in the country to work on a stiff program of self-condemnation and self-examination.

In local work camps, such as the one sponsored by Grace Methodist Church, Denver, Colorado, young people have directed scores of playgrounds without pay. They have run day nurseries in mining communities, worked on farms to relieve labor shortages, converted mill ponds into community swimming pools, and taught vacation church schools in new

housing areas. They have surveyed trailer towns, run open houses for young people in areas without recreational facilities, helped civic leaders relieve housing shortages, repaired old church buildings in preparation for service in new industrial areas, taught children in country schoolhouses. They have made town dumps into playgrounds, constructed barracks for Negro migrant workers—and while doing such work got up at five forty-five each day for morning prayer and worship.

Some of these programs, the young people realize, have been well intended but poor in method. They have built barracks free of charge for migrant workers without finding out why the companies had not cut profits and provided decent housing. They have fixed up meeting rooms in communities without encouraging the people to participate in the work so that the rooms would mean something to them.

However, during the war, some of the work camps developed better strategy. They discovered the resources of a community, awakened its moral conscience, and worked with the people in making improvements, rather than moving in, doing the job themselves, and pulling out when the work camp was over.

There is greater wisdom also in organizing national programs among young people. At conferences I found some young people saying, "Yes, 'world order grows from consecrated group fellowship' as we have often stated, but it is also fellowship that has made up its mind to be felt where the nation's political and economic decisions on world affairs are made." I watched a group of Northern Baptist

youth plan a social action program. It is still to be adopted by the denomination, but the young people asked such questions as "With what groups can we join hands for common causes? On what groups can Baptist youth exert influence for the advancement of human welfare? To what secular forces and agencies can Baptist youth give their efforts toward the achievement of a better Christian society? What action should be taken to bring influence to bear upon government for a Christian settlement of the peace? When we study our local communities, what agencies can we count on to work with us in improving housing, health, and recreational facilities?"

Such young people want to know what groups are already at work in the field before they begin a community service project. They want to know how the church can help them, and how Christianity can put institutions under conviction of social sin. When they engage in "projects for spiritual mobilization" they want to know what they are mobilizing for and with whom they are going to work. If they are going to "build tomorrow," they want church leaders to give them a good idea of the pressure groups and social agencies that are making most of the decisions now about the kind of world we are to have tomorrow. Then they want to work with groups that will forward their goals—whether it be the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or the Union for Democratic Action. They know now that we build tomorrow only with what we have today. And today we have not only individuals at work, but individuals organized in groups to work for what they want and what

they believe would be the best for the whole community.

With the exception of a few youth groups who talk about "planting oases," and "withdrawing as a saving remnant from the world of darkness," the vast majority of young people are ready to work in the world with the forces that are fashioning the world. If their youth leaders say they are needed for help in domestic reconstruction, then they look to God to renew their hope and strength each day, and they look to the groups already making decisions about employment and treatment of veterans and world order and see important areas in which they must seek to realize their Christian social goals.

The People Nobody Wants

THIS is a story of Spanish-speaking migrants. It is not exactly the one God dreamed for them. It is little different from that of approximately four million other agricultural migrants in America.

At least sixty per cent of our food is produced by large land owners who have a minimum crew of year-round workers. The crops are planted and cultivated by means of the latest mechanized equipment, and then, at harvest time, thousands of migrant workers are employed for a month or two. These migrants live in barracks or shacks, are usually paid on a piece-work basis, and, when the crop is harvested, move on to the next job, which may be several states away. Thus the migrant does not know the meaning of a settled home life. The system is cheaper for the land owner than the tenant farmer or sharecropper system, which supports families on the land the year around. The migrant system demands that the landlord support workers only for a month or two until the crop is out. Then they move on to some other section or to a relief agency of the city, state, or nation if settlement laws allow relief to migrants.

THE MIGRANT SYSTEM

Because such a system is profitable for individual employers (though not for society) and because money in American economy is often placed above human values, migrants are constantly increasing in numbers.

The children often change schools from four to eight times a year; hence they seldom receive a good education. Their parents are usually not in one county long enough to meet residence requirements for voting. No long-term church program is possible with them, and they in turn hesitate, because of their poverty and unsettled life, to participate in the programs of churches in the community.

During World War II the United States imported each year more than seventy thousand Mexicans, ten thousand Jamaicans, and five thousand Bahamans under six months' contract to do seasonal agricultural work. Protected by government agreements as to minimum wages and living conditions, they are given better treatment than the native migrants who are unprotected by such laws.

The church must wage a two-front war on behalf of the migrant. It must, through mission projects, meet his immediate needs for child-care, religious guidance, recreation, and worship. Through educational campaigns and statements by church officers and organizations, Christians must also press for the establishment of wage and hour standards, enforcement of sanitation and housing regulations, inclusion of the migrant in the Social Security Act, and the organization of migrants into unions. The church must help the public to

see that the migrants' present lack of organization by which to bargain collectively with employers, and the strong control of Congress by pressure groups representing big land owners, are leading our country to an agricultural economy that means serfdom for millions.

At present the migrant is without property, without vote, without education, without a press. The church must help the public to see the migrant as an industrialized laborer, just as he would be if employed in a city factory. He is not Farmer Jones with "five acres and independence." He is often a helpless, disease-ridden, child-poor worker, who is as vital to the war and peace efforts as a laborer in a shipyard or foundry.

The Spanish-speaking migrant—or Mexican migrant, as he is usually called—whom I saw in Minnesota, works the sugar beets in the summer and goes to Texas in the winter to work in fruits and vegetables. There are, perhaps, a million and a half Spanish-speaking workers in agriculture over America. The Home Missions Council, the organization through which Protestants cooperate in work among Spanish-speaking migrants, does well to reach twenty thousand of them a year on the part of its budget allotted to this work.

The Mexican migrant and the Negro are the two groups most discriminated against in war industries and hence are most available for filling gaps in agricultural production.

AGRICULTURE'S HARDEST JOB

The Mexican American is the principal labor source for the cultivation and harvesting of sugar beets, now our chief

source of domestic sugar. Sugar beet work has been called "agriculture's hardest job." It takes torturous back-bending and patience.

The older Spanish-speaking migrants continue their traditional way of life in spite of their uprootal. They treat another man's soil with respect and caution. They are humble, for they have learned not to struggle against fate. They work only to buy enough beans for themselves and their families. They enjoy the sun in the day and the stars at night. They treat their neighbors with mercy. When parents die of tuberculosis, as they often do, neighbors take the orphaned children into their own crowded huts without fuss or question. All this makes the Spanish-speaking migrant a highly desirable worker. As a reward for his patience, we have given him hard and dirty work in America, and, as with other minority groups, inadequate wages and hence some of the poorest houses in the country. In pre-war Los Angeles, for example, fifty-nine per cent of the Mexicans lived in substandard houses, as compared to forty per cent for the Orientals and twenty-five per cent for the Negroes.

Some people call the Mexican migrant's static way of life "shiftlessness," but it has been his salvation. Until the war, there was little hope for a different life, or for "doing better next year." But the war has brought higher wages, in some places double those of the previous years. New houses—small and wooden, but clean, with floors and windows and paint—went up in many Mexican villages in Texas. The younger Mexican migrants are becoming more Anglicized and aggressive. The mail order catalogue, with its ten thou-

sand gadgets, clothes, and drugs, has probably been the chief source of cultural change among the young people within Mexican migrant communities.

Many Mexicans have left agricultural work for jobs in foundries. At times, they have unknowingly or unwillingly, to keep from starving, been used to take the place of strikers. Much of the hatred of Mexicans in America among labor groups stems from this fact. Measures to keep the Mexican from being used as a source of cheap labor in competition with other workers will have more influence toward tolerance than any pamphlets or books that can be written or any speeches that can be delivered.

Missionary ministers and field representatives follow the Mexican in his endless trek, organizing child care and recreational and educational centers wherever he settles to work for a few months—be it Texas, California, Minnesota, Michigan, Oregon, or Colorado. The program of these centers is so varied in the extent to which it cuts through the life of a community that the missions in Minnesota and Michigan provide Protestantism with an excellent laboratory for observing religion's influence both for progress and for reaction in the treatment of a minority group.

Such a long-standing problem as that of the Mexican migrant in Minnesota, rooted in the powerlessness of an oppressed minority group over a well organized sugar industry, cannot be solved simply by having Mexican boys and girls and Minnesota children and farmers play and eat together in the Fisher mission center. But such a program can be the beginning of a new and better life for the migrant.

Before the work in Fisher began, Spanish-speaking young people walked the streets of the town on Saturday nights and listened from outside to the music of local people's dances. Now at least they have the use of the school gym for games, stunts, and plays, and educational authorities are working on plans to provide education adapted to their needs.

Before the centers were opened the Mexican babies were either wrapped in blankets and placed along the beet rows or were left in the care of a child at home. Now the center provides expert care for the children while their parents work, and gives the children their first experience of normal community life.

In former times Mexican parents knew nothing of organizing to meet their needs. Now, by parties, art classes, and discussion groups in which the Spanish-speaking migrants discuss the policies and program of the center, the Christian workers have brought to the migrant his first taste of responsible citizenship and of democracy. He likes them both. They have within them the power to change things. I am not sure that most mission workers realize the revolution in culture going on before their eyes. At many of these centers, leaders of migrants are being developed. Men are able to say for the first time, "I am bigger than the beets." When these men attempt to apply the lessons taught them, to organize their people for better working conditions, I wonder if the churches will desert them. If the movement to organize agricultural workers, certain to increase after this war, is met with vigilante groups, night riders, and planned terrorism, then our migrant mission work will find itself in

one of the most brutal and bloody conflicts in the history of American labor. If our mission workers educate people in rural communities now to the necessity for adequate organization, they can prevent much bloodshed. They can carry on such an educational program only if they understand the social as well as the strictly spiritual needs of the migrants.

WORSHIP IN RED RIVER VALLEY

The Fisher center and other migrant centers are run by girls from colleges or from the communities in which the centers are located, supervised by leaders of experience. The centers are similar to summer work camps, but without the artificiality of living apart from the community or of working without pay. The mission workers enter into the life of Fisher and for the most part their work is paid for by the town in which the work is done. Thus the town is made to understand its responsibility to the migrants who tend its crops.

The young people at the Fisher center have learned to understand the little community, to go to sleep when the villagers do, to rise when they do. They have been conventional on the little things so they could be unconventional on the things that really matter. They have been accepted by the town, and when they speak on the necessity of cooperation between migrants and townspeople, they are heard. It was not until I attended a staff worship service on the bank of Red River, Minnesota, that I understood how young people, often unaccustomed to long hours of hard and gruel-

ing work—for running a summer-long center on three to four hundred dollars and borrowed equipment is not living in the lap of luxury—can carry on with such compassion and enthusiasm. These young people knew what they worked for and what they hoped for. In that certainty and in the beauty and stillness of the valley they found the rest and peace that made them ready for the next day's tasks.

A MINISTRY TO ALL OF LIFE

In Blissfield, Michigan, a school to teach Spanish-speaking migrants the English language was established by the Home Missions Council. Until the Mexican migrant can speak and write English, he has little hope of achieving effective citizenship, of representing himself adequately, or of getting off the migrant treadmill.

In Grand Junction, Michigan, mission workers concentrate on a health program that mobilizes the forces of state and county medical groups. An itinerant nurse gives first-aid and dietetical advice and teaches birth-control measures.

The work among Mexican migrants would not have been possible without the support of the rural churches of Minnesota and Michigan. Instead of studying a nice, safe subject such as sharecroppers, since there are no sharecroppers in southern Michigan, they have concentrated on the migrants who work their beet fields. There are thousands of other churches over America that could begin similar home mission projects right where they are. As the Reverend Wallace Stern of Mankato, Minnesota, told a migrant center staff, "The church is often the only nerve in the community

along which tingles the otherwise unfelt miseries of the town. Should that nerve ever be cut off, the town loses its feeling for what exists on its periphery."

The church must provide not only the "sacrament of peace," but also the "sacrament of disturbance."

The Churches Unite Their Forces

WHEN "Old Trailer Town" in Baltimore was first opened, representatives of Protestant churches were on hand to welcome the people. They helped them organize a town council, begin the first trailer town newspaper in America, raise twelve hundred dollars for a community fund, plug for a community center and portable parish house, and erect a canopy tent for a vacation church school.

The church was able to develop a sense of community-working-together that seldom exists in war-housing areas over America. This was possible because church leaders worked with the people from the beginning of their stay in Baltimore and saw the great need for community organization.

Baltimore's speed in meeting the religious needs of Trailer Town was the result of one of Protestantism's most carefully planned and successful experiments in interdenominational cooperation. Three hundred and fifty churches of sixteen denominations united to do Baltimore's wartime religious job. Their "larger parish plan," first recommended

by lanky, hard-working John W. Harms,¹ has served as a pattern for other boom cities across America. Baltimore gives us a sample of what could be a nation-wide program for ministering to people away from home.

STRATEGY FOR UNCHURCHED AREAS

Essentially a civilian chaplaincy program, the larger parish makes use of the same principles of cooperation now required by the government of denominations serving the religious needs of the armed forces. It assigns a different church or denomination to each new housing area with the understanding that it is free to organize its program according to its own distinctive tenets and practices. However, its minister and religious workers supply any type of denominational service that may be requested. If a Presbyterian funeral, for example, is desired, any church that has the responsibility in a given area will arrange for it, to be conducted by a Presbyterian minister. At the same time, churches have the advantage of a coordinated program in which they pool information and techniques and work out surveys and overall strategies together. Workers may join the local congregation in their area of the larger parish, but at the same time keep their denominational affiliation intact.

Baltimore's program was the result of a year's experimentation in serving defense areas, and of one hundred years of Baltimore interchurch cooperation. Traditional

¹ Mr. Harms was executive director of the Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches during the first two years of the war. He is now executive secretary of the Chicago Federation of Churches.

Protestant strategy for entering unchurched areas—every denomination for itself, and the one with the least cash take the hindmost—was not adequate to meet the complicated situation in Baltimore.

Housing officials refused to become entangled in sectarian scrambles and sent orders to managers to cooperate with the Maryland-Delaware Council of Churches to avoid denominational disputes. In Armstead Gardens, low-cost housing project, they ruled ministers ineligible for residence. John W. Harms interpreted the ruling as follows: "Protestant churches reach their people increasingly through cooperation with the government. Both in the army and in war industry areas, it is now apparent that cooperation must be on an interdenominational level or not at all."

After several months of individual efforts, churches no more than two or three miles from new housing areas gained an average of four new members each. There was a defense worker population of eighty thousand people to be reached, all living in twenty-two thousand dwelling units—small houses, apartments, dormitories, and trailers. Individual churches gave up the job as too big to handle alone.

Most war workers wanted churches in their own trailer towns or housing areas. They naturally expected the church to meet them on their own level. They didn't want a large church building, nor did they desire to spend money building one that they would have to leave. They preferred to see the church move in with a Sunday school or a church service in a canopy tent or a portable housing unit rather than to fuss around a year or two deciding whether the area was

temporary or permanent, to be handled by Baptists or Methodists, and meanwhile hold no religious services.

GIVING A LITTLE, TAKING A LITTLE

Baltimore church workers had emphasized that both old-line residents and newcomers must be willing to compromise a little in church tastes and preferences. A church, for example, with a ritualistic background and a tradition of bingo parties as part of the church social program was called upon to minister to several hundred trailer people who came from West Virginia mountains and had a fundamentalist religious tradition.

Ministers have discovered that church attendance is often affected less by the sin of man than by simple physical barriers that can easily be overcome. An unbridged gully separated one church in Baltimore from a low-cost housing community hastily erected for twelve hundred people. None of the twelve hundred came to the church. The church put a footbridge across the gully and did a little backyard landscaping and had sixty newcomers in attendance from across the gully within a month.

CROSS SECTION OF AMERICA

Baltimore churchmen have avoided categorizing uprooted people as a new mission group crying out desperately for help. Though the Baltimore war workers feel the temporary nature of their residence, they are simply a cross section of self-respecting, hard-working, family-raising Americans who are doing a pretty good job of keeping their trailers, dormi-

tories, or emergency houses livable. For all the talk of families ruined and of increased delinquency—and this book has pointed out many instances—the typical war workers are the solid, hard-working, morally sound people that make up the strength of America.

None of our stereotypes of raffish, ill-washed wanderers derived from the *Grapes-of-Wrath* books can apply. However, some church publicity material has encouraged the kind of attitude that led a missionary society in New Jersey to spend several days packing a barrel of clean-up kits, toys, and clothes for “uprooted” children. When they inquired of a mission board where to send the barrel, the board had to wire back: BELIEVE BEST USE BARREL IN OWN TOWN STOP YOU HAVE FOUR THOUSAND NEEDY CHILDREN.

The twenty-two civilian chaplains and associates who minister to Baltimore’s twenty housing areas cannot say too much in praise of the men and women who came to Baltimore to work in her factories during the war. They tell of the struggle of these people to transfer a hamlet way of life to a plot of Maryland clay and twenty-six square feet of plywood and foldaway gadgetry. They tell of petunias struggling up through the sand in trailer gardens and of fences made from Martin Aircraft Plant scrap piles. They tell of mothers attempting to rear their children well in spite of the handicaps of too little housing, space, time, recreational facilities, and money.

Salaries for aircraft workers in the East have during the war, according to Department of Labor statistics, averaged eighty-four cents an hour for eighty per cent of the workers,

which is around forty dollars for a forty-eight-hour week. Airplane manufacturing, as all mass production industries, has been reduced to non-skilled units of work. As one man said, "I'd like to see the guy who makes one hundred dollars a week. They probably carry him out on a stretcher after each shift."

The civilian chaplains tell of couples who have endured wartime privations without a word of protest, because of a feeling that the price they were paying was little enough compared with what the men in the armed forces were giving. They tell of their plans and hopes for their children's education, for a small home made possible by frugal savings during the war. They describe children starved for friendship and for supervised play. They report the beginning days of vacation Bible schools when the children fought and argued like "dead-enders" because they had lived alone so long that they had forgotten how to cooperate and play together.

The wayside ministry conducted by the Reverend and Mrs. Francis R. Casselman in Trailer Town is typical of the work of hundreds of civilian chaplains over America. The Casselmans conducted three services each Sunday in a chapel built in 1774. It seated one hundred persons. The people who attended its services came from thirty-two denominations and thirty-four states. The materials used in the worship service came from many denominations—Baptist hymnals, Presbyterian communion set, United Brethren and Lutheran literature, Congregational Christian service book, and Methodist Sunday school lessons. Sunday school classes were held in parked cars when it rained and in the open

on clear days. Summer school met under tarpaulins strung on locust posts; benches came from scrap material in local plants. When the first religious pageant of the children was presented, five hundred parents cleared an area in the center of Trailer Town and brought their own chairs.

When the Casselmans came to Trailer Town they discovered that at least seventy per cent of the people had been Protestant church goers before the war. They recall that many of them said, "God knows we have needed a church in Trailer Town. . . . We thought no one cared any more. . . . We've missed our church so."

If a Gallup poll were to be taken of Baltimore people who have been without a church in their area for a year or less, as to whether they thought a church essential to the well-being of their community, perhaps eighty per cent would answer yes. This is not an arbitrary figure. Dr. Walter E. Rasmussen, now of the Chicago Federation of Churches, made a survey in Lower California to discover if the importance of having a church decreased in the eyes of the people the longer they were without one. He discovered that about eighty per cent of the residents in a new area that has been without religious services of any kind for six months feel that a church is absolutely necessary to their community. But Dr. Rasmussen asked a community (three hundred interviews in each case) that had been without a church two years if they considered a church necessary to the community. Only forty per cent answered yes. In a three-year-old unchurched community, he found only twenty per cent felt the need of a church.

It is imperative then that Protestant churches move at once into unchurched areas, or suffer the loss of hundreds of thousands of members each year.

BALTIMORE'S PROGRAM FOR SERVICE MEN

Near Baltimore there are eight major army camps and several minor posts, with around 500,000 men and women. Baltimore is their week-end liberty city. For them, Baltimore religious groups are attempting to provide a good time within a normal home and church experience. There are other types of entertainment beckoning from East Baltimore Street—"Zippy, Red Hot Burlesque" . . . "Girlie Shows Nightly." I watched the Victory Girls and professional prostitutes work the streets. "Lonesome, soldier?" "Date, sailor?" "Hi, honey." But there are other invitations, too. "Hello, soldier, like to take in a dance, a free bed, and waffle breakfast in the morning?" a grinning, affable man asks a young soldier standing in front of a "Pin Up Art Magazine and Novelty Shop."

The friendly citizen hands a card to the soldier and I see that he has an arm band, "Welcome Service Men—Council of Churches."

The soldier looks the card over. It tells where the churches are that offer hospitality, dormitories, lounges, and breakfast. "Looks pretty good," he says. "How long has this been going on?"

"Long enough for about ninety thousand service men to take in the church's week-end party," the gentleman from one of Baltimore's churches replies. He and dozens of other

volunteer workers walk the streets and go through bus and train terminals until two o'clock each Sunday morning passing out the churches' invitation.

The key man behind this program is Chaplain B. F. Wyland, service men's chaplain for the Baltimore Council of Churches. He acts as a liaison officer between the members of Baltimore's three hundred and fifty churches and the Army and Navy, the Y.W.C.A. and the Y.M.C.A., the U.S.O., and dozens of civic, school, and industrial groups who want to help service men. The Wyland-Baltimore combination has furnished more than seventy lounging rooms for soldiers in camps near Baltimore, two tons of magazines every week for them, fifty thousand New Testaments, seventeen hundred beds for soldiers in Baltimore churches, not to overlook waffles for one hundred and fifty service men each Sunday morning. The entire program is done on an \$8,000 budget and a prayer. Similar church programs for soldiers have been developed in communities near army camps all over America.

"FLAMING YOUTH," 1944 VERSION

Actually, the teen-age girls who wander into Baltimore seeking war jobs and "fun" need the shelter of the church as much as the soldiers. Most of the girls are from small towns or are farm-bred and have come to the city for a "glamorous" war job, a boy friend in a handsome uniform, a cozy apartment à la pulp magazines. Ah, youth! Ah, patriotism! Ah, love! For weeks they planned their break from home, packed their suitcases surreptitiously, and saved their

money for bus fare. Many left without a word to their parents.

When they arrived in Baltimore, they found the "cozy apartments" hard to find. There was scarcely a place to sit down, at the price they could afford to pay. Their jobs were hard and grueling. But there were soldiers, plenty of them. A girl had only to walk the streets slowly, to stand a moment at the right place in the right way to find one. Dates were tiring affairs after a day's work, but a cocktail lifted dejected spirits. The girls were on their own now. All restraints of home and the opinions of neighbors were off. Only the religious training and sex education the girls had or had not received at home, school, and church remained—a narrow thread to guide a girl who is away. The thread was lost in many cases. J. Edgar Hoover says fifty-eight per cent more girls under twenty-one were arrested in 1943 for prostitution and commercialized vice than in 1942. To label the attempted adjustments of some young people to a war culture as "juvenile delinquency" is dangerously smug. It shows a total lack of understanding of the roots of the problem. Henry H. Curran, chief magistrate of New York City, suggests that we talk of "parental delinquency" more than "juvenile delinquency." What "wayward" girls need, he says, are families that care and care enough to help finance and plan a community program that provides wholesome recreation and associations.

Baltimore churches relied for a time on the Protestant Big Brother and Sister Councils to handle the juvenile delinquency problem. These councils enlisted young men and

women who would assume responsibility for helping delinquents paroled from juvenile courts to readjust to a normal life. However, the Baltimore Department of Christian Social Relations has taken over most of this work in an effort to coordinate and use all the social, medical, recreational, and religious agencies in the city. The strategy is working.

The same pattern of coordinated work among churches was used in avoiding race riots in Baltimore. The Baltimore churches led the city in obtaining through experts the facts on racial tensions, and then sent the data to pastors and civic officials. Out of the investigation came a preventive program.

The weak spot in Baltimore's church program is in its relationships with industry and labor. The experience the churches had in helping to set up Martin Clubs as recreational facilities for employees of Martin Arms Aircraft, only to have them used shortly thereafter to fight the unions, was discouraging.

On the church and labor side, it would seem that Protestant interdenominational leaders need to make more effort to cooperate with the labor unions in publicizing or improving the church's services to war workers. From the offices of the Baltimore Council of Churches can be seen the large, bright sign of the regional headquarters of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the office of the Martin Bomber Local 738 of the United Auto Workers (17 East Franklin Street). Mr. Fred Ford, president of the union, did not know the Council of Churches was two doors down. The special war areas director of the Council of Churches had never been to see him. He didn't even know there was such

a man. The front office secretary who had worked there for some time said that no one from the Council of Churches had ever been there. She didn't know there was such an organization. No, they had never been asked to put announcements of the Council's work on their bulletin boards. Both Mr. Ford and the secretary knew and admired the Roman Catholic priest, Father Cronin, who has made many statements in favor of labor's rights. Mr. Ford believed that by working more closely with the labor unions the Protestant churches could have increased their ability to discover and meet the social and religious needs of Baltimore war workers.

Although coordination of work with all important social groups has not yet been fully developed, Baltimore churches' wartime program may herald a great union movement in America in which churches, though keeping their distinctive worship services, will unite in all kinds of social service activities. Such unity will be particularly valuable where individual church work would be inadequate or expensive.

The Rushville Experiment

NEW ideas and practices in religious work can travel fast in our highly literate and mobile age. But they can't travel at all unless they have a home base somewhere. A successful experiment in meeting the needs of uprooted people had its base in Rushville, New York, its trial runs in numerous mission centers across America. This base is located in the midst of a human stream of migrants who move up and down the eastern states harvesting the fruits and vegetables. The director of the Rushville work was Mrs. Daniel Evans.¹

While a student at Yale Divinity School, Mrs. Evans took a summer job with the Home Missions Council of North America, working with migrants. She soon discovered that, contrary to the molasses talk put out by long-haul ad writers about the "berries so plump and so tempting, so gay and robust . . . cultivated by people who have devoted generations to the cheery red fruit," the cranberries in the camp to which she was assigned were worked and picked by migrants who lived in company shacks, often filthy firetraps, a family

¹ Mrs. Evans is now co-director of youth work of the Greater New York Federation of Churches.

to each room. The outdoor toilets were seldom cleaned and few had seats; the shacks had no screens; bedbugs were rife; beds, one to a family, were wooden shelves with straw. There was a water spigot for every nine to twelve families and the water was found to be contaminated twice that summer. There was no first aid, no company doctor, and wages ranged from eighteen to twenty dollars a week per family. Children from seven years of age up were working in the fields.

Under a cooperative plan with the owner the Council had begun a much-needed nursery for the children of the migrants. Since the company paid part of the salaries of the mission workers, who lived away from the migrants in nice company houses, the migrants had little understanding of why the church workers were there, nor did they appreciate the work being done for them. They believed that Mrs. Evans and the others were paid by the company to take care of the babies so that the mothers and fathers and older children could work, and that was all. Meanwhile, the employers were using the nursery as a selling point for recruiting laborers and for keeping wages lower than those paid by neighboring farmers. There was little that was Christian about that set-up, Mrs. Evans said.

NEW TECHNIQUES IN MIGRANT WORK

The following year Mrs. Evans was given an opportunity to organize a migrant center based on democratic practices in Rushville, New York, for Italian and Polish bean pickers. It was to be a laboratory to try out certain techniques. In summertime, Rushville is a farm community of about five

hundred people with a company camp of one hundred migrant families. "It was small enough to visualize its problems easily," said Mrs. Evans.

Mrs. Evans went into the migrant camp neither as a savior to a lost people nor as "lady bountiful" giving away free nursery service and wash kits. She made calls on the workers and told them she would help organize a nursery and community center if they would supply the equipment and labor.

The people invariably asked, "Are you from the company?"

"No, I'm from the Home Missions Council of North America," she replied, and explained who sponsored her work. She asked at once for a volunteer committee of thirty-five from the camp to organize a community program. The people needed no coaxing. They brought a stove, dishes, clothes, toys, and food for the nursery. They helped scrub down the rooms that were to be used. All mothers brought equipment for their babies. Mrs. Evans rejected nothing that was offered. She knew there was no better way to make people a part of a movement than to have them give something to it.

The young men volunteered to fix the drain ditch of the nursery, to clear a field for play. "I soon forgot all about feeling sorry for these people," Mrs. Evans said. "We were friends and equals. We shared ideas. When a problem came up, I told the people to figure out their own solution. They had better ideas than I did, so why should I try to run the whole show? You might mention also that all the talk about

genial brotherhood and fellowship was left out. We were too busy doing things together. They took me to my first spaghetti party and I took them on their first wiener roast."

Her approach was a radical departure from "soup kitchen" relief or the "busy bee" work camp so rushed in hammering together a school house or recreational center for a community that it never becomes acquainted with the residents or calls in their help. The new approach made it possible for one worker, trained to help migrants help themselves, to organize in a single summer a nursery, a community self-government, a recreational program, and to build a playground. This was the fruit of work in scores of mission centers and years of experimentation in mission techniques to which many denominational home mission boards have contributed through the Home Missions Council and under the direction of Miss Edith E. Lowry. This is Christian service at its best—service by those motivated by love and trained in social strategy.

In the migrant camp where Mrs. Evans had her first experience and where all equipment had been provided by the company and outside people, the workers would assume no responsibility for the center program. They broke in and stole clothes and equipment stored by the mission workers. In Rushville, since the equipment belonged to the workers, nothing was taken, no toys or dishes recklessly broken. Mrs. Evans discouraged a "let-the-company-do-it" attitude and built up a sense of responsibility among the workers. Rushville's townsmen were won by the way the migrants had developed their own program, by the clean, pretty children

Mrs. Evans took to church with her, and by the success of cooking classes organized by the townspeople for migrant girls.

A mothers' committee, formed by the workers to look after the needs of the nursery, soon became interested in remedying the high prices of the company store, and in securing higher wages for bean picking. The company store prices were very much higher on some items than those in the stores in town. The company did not demand that workers buy from the store. They merely extended credit, and did not pay wages until the crops were picked.

The committee's demand to increase wages to three cents a hamper for beans instead of two, was announced to the labor contractor. He protested that the wages were set elsewhere by company officials, not by him. The committee petitioned the company. Two company representatives met with the committee, but no changes in wages resulted. The workers had no facts available as to what other companies were paying in other parts of the state and were not aware of how best to present their case.

The conference did, however, pave the way for further company-migrant agreements. The meeting taught the migrants the value of organization. It taught Mrs. Evans three things about migrant work: (1) The church cannot pretend to offer leadership to these people unless it has a worker trained in agricultural labor relations. This must be someone who sees the problem of migratory labor in its entirety, who knows the prevailing agricultural wages in the state where migrant work is done by the church, and who can advise

the workers on what would be a fair wage to demand at such conferences. (2) Such work as that done at Rushville demands careful follow-up each year in order to capitalize on the advances made. (3) The church must understand clearly what it is doing in such work and stand firmly for the rights of its field representatives to develop leadership among the migrants, to teach them cooperative principles, to preach freely, and to go beyond actual nursery care.

In the case of Rushville, a labor contractor threatened to run Mrs. Evans out of the village for not sticking to her nursery. But the bean pickers, realizing the value of her recreational and leadership training program as well as the nursery, protested so strongly that she was permitted to stay.

How any company or company representative with a sense of public responsibility could protest the mission work of Mrs. Evans is hard to understand. She was able to transform the migrant workers from sullen, leaderless people who felt no responsibility for the company town, into a self-respecting, happy community that took pride in the cleanliness of its homes, its recreation program, and the care of its children. These people had something to do after work that united them and kept them busy.

In several instances canning companies and growers in the East have seen the value of over-all programs similar to that developed by Mrs. Evans, and have encouraged and cooperated with the work. Such work on eastern shore farms includes menu planning as well as preaching, yet at the beginning of the work, the Council was told, "Do nothing but preach, and that's all."

The Libby-McNeil cannery in Houston, Delaware, has worked with the Home Missions Council for nineteen years, and has met and gone above the Council's housing and working standards. The workers respect and understand the work of the Council and the same ones come back each year to Libby's plant. Some of the adult migrant workers now at Libby's attended the Council's nursery in its beginning years.

Neither the Rushville nor Libby-McNeil company attitudes are typical. But it is the exceptional that reveals best the underlying strains and harmonies in our society. And that is why I have dealt with both here. Both the Rushville and Libby-McNeil communities are full of promise. If the continuity of work is kept up as well at Rushville as it has been at Libby-McNeil, the company will no doubt in time see the achievement of the humanitarian and practical goals toward which the missionary program of the church is directed.

GIFT BARRELS OR COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION

The success of Mrs. Evans' work raises many questions, the most important of which is this: Should not missionary organizations in their educational programs spend less time on rummage sales and packing gift barrels, and more time on raising money for such workers as Mrs. Evans, who are trained to go into a community and draw from it the resources needed to build an adequate program, or on developing a similar missionary program in their own community? The Rushville techniques are valuable for postwar reconstruction in Europe and Asia, where leadership that utilizes the talents of the people served is needed first of all.

Mrs. Evans hands out none of the run-of-the-sap syrup designed to build up pity for migrants in order to enlist people's support. Why, she asks, should a migrant mother, who at the request of the company works in the fields ten hours a day at thirty cents an hour to keep a crop from spoiling, get all choked up about a religious worker in the pay of the company taking care of her child?

"These people would much rather be made partners in a local church enterprise with a chance to assume responsibility for its program and to take part in its services than to be handed out a free nursery, a free party, or bargain rates at a rummage sale," says Mrs. Evans.

Many mission workers feel that people who give a dime on Sunday for the "heathen and the poor" should expect no undying gratitude from the helped. Poor men today, they say, know too well the price of charity. It is they who pay the greatest price and not those who give. It is a tip for being patient, for having the unfortunate luck of being born the son of a migrant or sharecropper. The migrant, mission workers say, has felt class lines harden in America. He knows the truth of "once a migrant, always a migrant"; for there is little escape to other work. Knowing this, church people should welcome mission work such as the Rushville experiment, for it does not, as so often is the case, substitute "philanthropy and sentimental religious generosity for real social justice."

Worship in the Bogs of New Jersey

THE church that taught me most about worship was not the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City with its great vaulted arches, nor the Christ Church Cathedral in St. Louis with the most costly altar in America. It was an eighteen-by-twelve-foot room in a clapboard shack that had been made into a chapel by twelve cranberry pickers who felt the need of a church. For three years these migrants had been trucked north from the Florida glades to earn an uncertain existence harvesting the crops. They lived in a company town called Rome. Rome consisted of a long double row of two-room shacks, a family to a room. There was no church and no way to get to a church.

In Florida, common worship had offered some relief from the monotonous and tiring work, and had "made life add up to something." But in Rome there were only the cranberries to be picked, the heavy rakes to be wielded, the bogs to be waded day in and day out, from "can see to can't see." They needed a church.

Two families in "God's Committee of the Twelve," as they called themselves, volunteered to share one room. That made four adults and two children living in an eighteen-by-twelve room so they could have a church.

The committee scrubbed down the walls of their church. They collected orange crates, planks, and cranberry lugs, and from them made pews (seating capacity, twenty-one, if they squeezed). They wanted something better than orange crates for the altar. So God's Committee put up a sign in Rome, "Wanted—Wood Carvers and Carpenters to Build an Altar." And the word spread through the bogs. Within a week, God's Committee had fifteen volunteers to do the job. Many brought with them bits of hardwood, picked up from surrounding New Jersey. Together they constructed the altar and carved a cross on the center board. Six of the volunteers joined the church.

With a chapel, the people of Rome took heart. Perhaps they could find a minister. In Florida a man from the Home Missions Council had preached to them. They saved their money for a month. Then they wrote to the Council in New York. "We have a hand-carved altar and five dollars. Could you send us a minister?" The Council thought it could.

In Burlington, New Jersey, not far from Rome, the Reverend Clarence H. Richmond, a Negro who is a graduate of Yale Divinity School, now a chaplain in the Army, was ministering for the Council to migrants in a Farm Security Administration camp. Richmond said he would be glad to hike to Rome and preach each week.

Here was a man who practised what he preached. While comfortably settled with his wife and two children in a large city parish in the South, he had been asked by the Home Missions Council to become a minister to migrants. When he got up to preach and looked out at the people who followed the crops from state to state, he saw migrants clearly for the first time. What did he really know of their problems and their deepest desires? In humility he came down from the pulpit and sat among them. Someone began a spiritual, and during the singing of it he was convinced that he had made the right decision when he left the South.

I did not know all this when I first worshiped in Rome, but the spirit of the service, the faces of the people, the room told me that something like that must have happened.

CRANBERRIES AND CHRISTMAS TINSEL

As soon as I entered the chapel I knew that there was no half-real character here. Above the altar some untutored artist had painted a cluster of cranberries. He had obviously wrestled for days with the problem of perspective and third dimension. He had lost, but God's Committee had approved the symbolism. Why? I suppose because it seemed to express what religion means to those who work in the bogs. It said: "For all the sweat and heartache of my life I can find some meaning to it here, some desire to live a fuller life."

On another wall they had put a picture of Jesus cut from a Sunday school paper. Tinsel saved from Christmas cards framed it, giving color to the drab walls.

I do not recall the order of worship. Perhaps there was none. Perhaps there was only an upper room where twenty people tried to say in prayer and in song that their God was good and merciful.

Someone began a spiritual and the congregation took up the refrain. The plaintive, rhythmic joy of their singing filled the room, then flowed out across the silent bogs. An old Negro heard the music, hesitated, took off his cap and came into the chapel.

There was an easy, unhurried silence as Mr. Richmond opened the Bible and found the lesson. The people stood with bowed heads as he read, and then prayed. A gaunt picker knelt to pour forth in prayer and testimony his anguish and fears and then sat back relieved and at peace. A mother asked if her daughter might lead the group in a hymn she had learned.

During the sermon the congregation asked questions about points they didn't understand. Then they suggested the subject for the following Sunday's sermon. The subject was "Hope." A man brought forward bread and wine in two bowls of broken crockery. During the communion one man hesitated, wondering if he was worthy of the sacrament. Mr. Richmond went to him, took his hand, walked with him to the altar, kneeled beside him, and took communion with him.

This was not just a church. It was a community of people who had worked together to build a sanctuary, who together helped each other find God. The service was beautiful, not because poverty is beautiful, but because man's

vision of God in the sound of a child singing a hymn her mother had taught her, in a man's taking another's hand in a grip of understanding, in the sight of a picture of Christ framed bravely in Christmas card tinsel on a clapboard wall is a beautiful thing.

Who Changes Cleveland?

A CITY is like a person. It has a personality, a mood, and a name. It has a way of doing things and of avoiding things it doesn't want to do. It is moral or immoral; farsighted or confused; hard-working or lazy. It meets a crisis such as war and becomes panicky; or by it is stirred to greater action.

As nearly as one can categorize the morals of a city, Cleveland's morals are positive, farsighted, and good. It has gone through this war without race riots, without serious labor-management conflict, and without tragic exploitation of newcomers. And now it prepares for peace with unusual assurance, coordination, and purposiveness.

Cleveland has not been blessed with few or easy problems to solve. It is the nation's sixth largest city, with a population in July, 1944, of 1,257,000. Its Negro population has grown during the past twenty years from 34,000 to 95,000 and many people have resented the influx. The majority of its population is of first- or second-generation European stock—Croatian, Slavic, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Rumanian, Russian, Irish, and Italian. These groups are far from integrated; they compete vigorously for jobs and houses.

In meeting all these problems Cleveland has constantly adapted itself and changed its institutions in order to meet the needs of its people more adequately. Where does Cleveland get this dynamic for social change? How does a city learn to direct its energy toward the common good? I went to Cleveland to find out.

There are many factors of social change in Cleveland. We could begin with the city's social idealism. It is present in the statements of church, civic, business, and labor leaders. Ministers such as Dr. D. R. Sharpe, director of the Cleveland Baptist Association, hold before the people "the vision of a city redeemed." The League for Human Rights, a liberal group fighting native fascism, speaks for "the vision of a democratic city."

This social idealism stems from the time of Tom L. Johnson, Cleveland's liberal mayor from 1901 to 1911. Johnson, as a local poet put it, went "beyond his party and beyond his class"; he "forsook the few to serve the mass."

Cleveland's social and economic structure also makes for constant adaptation to the needs of its people. It is a highly organized city of at least sixteen hundred active groups. These associations represent a balance of many interests, and a spirit of give and take that has grown in part out of the necessity for continual compromise. For only by compromise could decisions be made in a city so carefully balanced in organized power.

No one family, industry, or clique dominates the political or economic life of Cleveland. Its economic life is geared to no principal industry. It has two hundred and ten differ-

ent types and sixty-eight classes of industries. Because of this its industrial and business leaders represent a spectrum of social views—"left wing, middle, and back in the dark ages." The power of management is checked by local labor organizations with two hundred thousand union members.

DISCUSSION UNLIMITED

The question, "Who changes Cleveland?" could also be answered in part by the city's unique way of creating an informed and alert public opinion—a way devised by a Cleveland minister.

Americans have always held that one of the best ways of achieving an informed democracy is the thrashing out of conflicting ideas face-to-face in small group discussions or "town meetings." But in a great city, the ideal of the New England town meeting has been difficult to achieve.

Cleveland is the first city in America to organize well planned discussion groups on a city-wide, voluntary basis. During the past two years Cleveland has held more than two thousand "Town Meetings of Greater Cleveland." These meetings have been held in civic centers, labor locals, club rooms, homes, churches, and schools. People from all groups have met together to face specific civic, national, and world problems. They have studied non-partisan outlines prepared "by the best intelligence in the city," read tons of recommended books and pamphlets to spike rumors and expose false propaganda. They have expressed their opinions freely, and listened to hundreds of Cleveland's leaders and information experts.

I attended one of these town meetings at the Euclid Immanuel Baptist Church. Thirty people had come to figure out the kind of peace they wanted. They met in a church parlor that had a twenty-four starred service flag hung across the front wall.

"I have been sitting here looking at those service stars," the discussion leader began. "And it occurred to me that in spite of all our service men's lounges, information booths, newsletters, and parades, we civilians are neglecting the one thing our soldiers really want. And that is the disposition on the part of Cleveland people to build a world free from war. You who have come here have the desire to build such a world. You are not sure how best to use your influence in your business, school, union, and at the polls for that peace. So you have come ready to hear what others have to say and to give your own views."

As that man spoke men and women in more than a hundred town meetings throughout Cleveland began their discussion in a similar mood of serious endeavor to find a way to peace in the world and in Cleveland.

The "Town Meetings of Greater Cleveland" were begun a few years ago by Charles F. MacLennan, a Presbyterian minister who was director of the city's Religion and Labor Foundation. He had no money for the project, but he believed that Cleveland people would give time and financial support to a community-wide discussion of the issues of a people's peace and of Cleveland's postwar problems.

Six months after the Reverend Mr. MacLennan had asked for volunteer workers he had two hundred authoritative

speakers and one hundred and fifteen people arranging discussions through organizations. Two hundred were spending their evenings telephoning people about the meetings, fifty-seven were organizing and scheduling discussions. Forty were enlisting discussion leaders, one hundred and forty were taking the leadership training course at Cleveland College. And thirty-eight secretaries, typists, and file clerks were giving several hours of work each week.

The workers do not try to hold mass meetings. Nor do they attempt "neighborhood meetings" in areas where there is little or no community spirit. Their concern is to get the groups already functioning to organize town meetings to discuss topics and study guides prepared by the city's experts. The strategy works. In one year they had three hundred and twenty-five different groups participating, and sixteen hundred organizations receiving study material.

In a special training program, discussion leaders learned how to introduce topics, how to be fair to an audience, and how to encourage questions. Guides to discussion were prepared for the people attending the meetings. "Your ideas count . . . Say what you think . . . Dig for points that matter . . . If you don't understand where the discussion is going, say so."

While discussion leaders were being trained, study commissions were selecting topics and preparing discussion guides. Town meeting audiences never went unprepared. Subjects were defined, problems described, and possible solutions outlined. The first town meeting discussion series focused for two months on seven topics: Economic Coop-

eration among Nations, Racial and Minority Problems, Future of Democracy, United Nations in United Action, World Organization, Preparing for Peace in Time of War, and Cleveland Plans for Jobs and Better Neighborhoods.

Guides for each of these topics were prepared by separate panels of fifteen men and women each. Three people—if possible a left-winger, a middle-of-the-roader, and a conservative—were selected from each of five groups: business, labor, religious, civic, and professional. Never before in Cleveland's history had groups met like this to work on mutual problems. The resulting outlines were fair and inclusive.

After each panel meeting and discussion the people drew up summary reports to determine where they agreed and disagreed. MacLennan and I looked at a stack of several hundred of these reports one night in Town Meeting office.

"At least ten thousand people sweated over those, trying to find points of agreement. People from several hundred organizations that propagandize their interests came together to attempt to reach a socially constructive statement on which all would agree. There you have the shortest road in America to action in the interests of the whole community," MacLennan said a little reverently.

Many people came in a boiling mood to the October discussions on race relations. That month had been full of trouble in Cleveland's plants over the matter of the upgrading and hiring of Negroes. The colored population had been increased again by a new influx of workers and Negroes were pushing into new areas to find housing. Feeling ran

high, then visibly leveled off as more than ten thousand people tried, in one evening, to come to agreement in town meetings on: "What civil rights are accorded minority groups? What are the inequalities in housing, education, medical and social service? Has race prejudice retarded progress? What are the alternative solutions? How can religion help?"

Town Meeting workers have big plans for the coming months. They believe their program can help returning soldiers discover the meaning of democracy again through the deep experience of free and open discussion. Such meetings, they say, are "democracy in action." They are "the safety valve of democracy." Cleveland is planning a series on the problems of the returned service man, giving him an opportunity to speak his mind. They are preparing a discussion guide on local pressure groups, their activities in Cleveland, and how they can be controlled.

Mr. MacLennan believes that our ability to adjust to postwar problems, to care for returned veterans, to prevent World War III may depend in part upon our ability to organize town by town and city by city a program of "discussion unlimited" as developed in the "Town Meetings of Greater Cleveland."

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCHES

One of the primary forces for social redemption in Cleveland has been the Protestant church. Its influence was considerably increased by the formation of the Cleveland Federation of Churches in 1910. The idea behind the Federation

was to "organize Protestantism so it could be heard in the chambers of city government, business, and labor, with a strong and united voice."

More than four hundred Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious leaders have united in Cleveland for social reform through the Church Civic League. The influence of this group on municipal elections has been tremendous. Candidates are invited to the League's meetings to make speeches and are asked questions on specific and crucial local issues. After the group has heard the candidates, it goes on record for the men it believes most qualified. The League then publicizes extensively its reasons for selecting certain candidates.

Recently church women canvassed the city to secure a new school board that would give Negro representation and break the control of a real estate group. While I was in Cleveland a special committee of the Church Federation aroused enough public pressure to force the resignation of the superintendent of the Cleveland State Hospital for the Insane. It was alleged he had resisted efforts to correct the inadequate and incompetent care given patients.

Cleveland was one of five cities that employed a full-time director of Protestant Social Welfare during the war to coordinate the forces of all the churches and to train church workers for professional social work. This department began after church women volunteered their services to a juvenile court judge. The judge told them he wanted "no amateurs meddling," but that he would welcome Protestant help if professionally done. A trained director, Mrs. P.

E. Hawkins, was provided. The judge also asked for more community resources that young people could use. So several churches doubled in a year their leisure-time groups and educational programs, reaching out to "people who had made mistakes as well as the holy." Six child-care centers were begun and two experimental church programs for Negro and white young people were launched, and correctional institutions for girls were re-equipped by the churches.

A REFUGE FOR AMERICAN-MADE REFUGEES

The work of Protestant churches with Japanese Americans is another Cleveland picture of Christianity in action against racism. The task of the nation's churches in this area of service is more clearly defined than their work with Negroes. They must do the personal job of helping one hundred thousand people, uprooted from their homes and jobs and placed in relocation camps, find their way back into community life. No institution is more fitted for the reconciliation of Japanese Americans and the nation than the churches. The War Relocation Authority can help these people—seven out of eleven of whom were citizens—find jobs; but the business of finding homes and friends for them and of breaking down antagonism and misunderstanding is to be left largely to the church. Over the nation a dozen hostels have been sponsored by the churches at one time or another during the war. And thousands of individual church members wrote letters and sent gifts to the interned people, pleaded publicly for tolerance, and aided relocation by offering rooms in their homes for living quarters.

In Cleveland the Baptist Home Mission Society established a hostel that by January, 1944, had been used by more than four hundred Japanese Americans as a temporary residence. With a campaign of bell-pushing, advertisements, sermons, editorials, and news stories of Japanese Americans in the armed forces, church workers were able to find standard or above-standard dwellings for most of the evacuees.

Most of the people who relocated through the hostel were young *Nisei* (average age twenty-one). The majority of the fifty thousand or so Japanese left in the camps are older people with families. The crisis in relocation work for the churches came in 1944 with the problem of working with the older and less adaptable Japanese Americans. Many will desire to return to the West Coast to their land and businesses. They speak with gratitude of the scores of churches that are preparing California, Oregon, and Washington through parish papers, leaflets, and adult education for their return.

Although the Cleveland hostel is financed by the Baptist churches, it has been used for no sectarian purpose. Few of the evacuees know what denomination sponsors the work; they know only that it was done by Christians. The evacuees form their own religious groups and affiliate with whatever church best suits their religious and social needs.

Before I left Cleveland I attended a service at the First Methodist Church, where forty Japanese Americans gather each Sunday evening for worship. Many Caucasian young people from the church also attend. The minister was a young Japanese American, a graduate of a Methodist semi-

nary. He asked that all observe the Fourth of July, which fell on the following Tuesday. "Be thankful to God that we are in America," he said to his fellow Japanese Americans. "I say this not to wave a flag in undue patriotism, but in gratitude for the things we enjoy. We were born here. We realize that a nation can make many mistakes. If we are prone to criticize, think of our nation's good points as well as her bad ones. Think of our privileges, of our freedom to worship here tonight as we wish.

"Pray that God's blessing and peace shall rest on our nation. Pray for our brethren, for relatives in the armed forces. We cannot be with them, but God can. He will stand by them."

And then these young people whom a nation has locked in camps for over two years without trial or hearing, prayed:

"We are thankful that we were born into this nation. Many of us did not realize the meaning of its democracy until we came against some things that were hard, that were not democratic. Help us not to be bitter. Help us to do our best wherever we are. Amen."

During the service I sat beside a sailor, Bill Morton, a member of the First Methodist Church, who was home from fighting in the Pacific. He sat in his chair a moment after the service. I waited, too, not wanting to disturb him.

"Amen," he said softly—and walked out into the night.

In spite of what has been said, any person would be deluded to think that all is wonderful in Cleveland. The city has slums. It has known many civic failures. Many of

its churches remain static institutions preaching "paltry sins and petty virtues."

Yet the overwhelming fact remains that Cleveland people within their churches and most of their institutions have been attempting to follow a vision of a city redeemed. Cleveland is encouraging evidence of what a city can do when it has the moral will to plan cooperatively and work democratically.

Joe Hunter, Guadalcanal Hero, Comes Home

JOE HUNTER was radio operator on the destroyer USS *Gregory* when Japanese torpedo planes blasted her to pieces off the coast of Guadalcanal the night of August 23, 1942. The first bomb dropped on the destroyer took off her bridge and wrecked the radio shack beneath. Joe stumbled onto the deck and over the side of the ship, his head fractured, three fingers hanging by threads of skin, his back shredded by shrapnel. He came to in the water and with other survivors waited to be picked up. Meanwhile the battle raged around them. The next morning a ship came alongside and took them aboard. The ship's doctor amputated Joe's three injured fingers and gave him emergency care.

Joe spent more than a year in six different hospitals getting patched up. His girl Shirley, who was the strongest balance against his restlessness and uncertainty, came across the country to be near him while he recuperated. She met other women from all over America who had given up their comfortable, stable ways of living to be near their husbands

and sweethearts. They were victimized by get-rich-quick landlords but they endured this in order to spend a few hours each week with their men.

For two weeks Shirley knew the baffling, confusing experience of being unable to find her way into the life of a new community or to find work that would keep her waiting hours occupied. To Shirley and many of the other girls, the service center and lounge at one of the churches was a godsend. This church had made a canvass of members and had a list of rooms to offer at reasonable rates. Social gatherings and recreation were arranged for the newcomers, who were also welcomed into the worship services on Sundays and through the week.

There were a few weeks of shy, painful unfamiliarity with Joe as they tried to build a new understanding out of old memories and new maturity. Shirley let Joe talk as he wanted to. He seemed to want her to know that he had been scared, to tell her what he had been through, to figure it all out, and then to forget it. She tried to treat his wounds as a matter of course and not to engulf him with sympathy. But she made clear her love for him.

Joe asked Shirley to marry him the day he was released from the last hospital. He had known her for three years before going into the service. She told him she would marry him only if he would stop refusing to meet people and to go out because of his injuries.

Joe, with the encouragement of his wife, accepted invitations to speak at bond rallies and over the local radio station and soon thought little of his injuries. He became used

to the little shiver that went through people when they shook hands with him and felt the distortion of his hand.

JOE DIDN'T WANT TO BE CALLED A HERO

Joe wanted above all else to feel that he had given a part of himself for a good purpose. He did not want to be called a hero or placed on a pedestal. But he had to feel that the night spent in the water off Guadalcanal made some sense, that somehow it helped to make the world better.

While Joe looked for a job, his wife worked. They lived with Shirley's parents until they found an apartment. While Joe waited for the Veterans' Service Committee, the Board of Education, and other interested groups to help him find a job that would permit him to use his radio training, Shirley helped him to understand that the courage and drive he had shown in war must also be used in peace. Following the lead of a friend, he applied for a job as engineer at the local radio station and got it.

Joe hopes he can keep the job. By law it must go back to the man in service who had it before the war, if the man wants it when he returns. Joe says he doesn't want veteran benefits or bonuses or handouts. He wants a job for which he has been trained. He wants an equal chance for that job with the people who remained at home—no more, no less. And also he wants no wars for his six-months-old son.

JOE'S RELIGION IS LITTLE DIFFERENT NOW

Joe's religious life is little different now from what it was before the war. He prayed "plenty hard" that night off

Guadalcanal, but he has never been in such a tough spot since. After the baby came, he and his wife went to church about once a month. He has no quarrel with the church. He simply knows little about it, even as a church member. For example, the war, its meaning, and his part in it have worried him a great deal, but he knows nothing about his own church's viewpoint on war—before this one or during it. The church has never impressed on his conscience any viewpoint or insight on a particular social problem. He didn't know church leaders made pronouncements on moral issues in public affairs. When you ask Joe what Christian insights or principles were involved in the war, he doesn't know what to say. It is a subject to which he has given no thought. He is cheerful, happy, healthy, loyal to America, respectful of the clergy and organized religion, but he is not out to Christianize the world or to revolt against Christianizing it.

This is not to say that Joe knows nothing about religion. He does not doubt the fact and power of God, he prays under pressure and believes in the efficacy of prayer. He is certain of immortality. But he has no big, easy words for his religion.

"What do you really want or expect from the church?" I asked.

"Well, as I look back," he said, "I had a lot of good times in the young people's group, in Scouts, in the gym, and on Sunday school picnics. Of course, I don't have those good times now because most of the gang is away fighting."

I learned that Joe had spoken only once at the young people's church group. A man had been there calling with

great vigor and much inspiration for youth to embark on a program of reconstruction after the war. Perhaps it had seemed a little glib, a little too easy and oratorical to Joe. Joe said something to the effect that if there was work to be done by the church in his town, all anyone needed to do was to point it out, to tell how to do it and when the work was beginning, and then he personally would not need any bandwagon to get him to do it. In the Navy, he said, you saw your duty and did it. And you were trained how to do it most efficiently. The Navy knew comradeship and bravery, but didn't talk about it. And then Joe sat down, red-faced and embarrassed.

Joe's mother and father feared that the war and military training would make some mysterious transformation in him. But a few months after Joe returned he seemed much the same man he was before he left. The desire for a small home and a mechanical job such as his father's had merely been deepened by the war. Joe had become neither the "trained killer" of lost morals and hopes that the pessimists feared nor the idealist's starry-eyed boy who had found in the midst of battle a spiritual awakening and a crusading desire to make America over.

This story of Joe Hunter represents the essence of interviews with seventeen service men, all of whom are church members. Joe may not be typical of all of them in every respect, but I am convinced that he is fairly representative of normal veterans, who fortunately constitute the great majority. He was among the first to return. He came when jobs were abundant and patriotic enthusiasm was at its

height. Those who return later will find different problems, perhaps greater ones from those he faced.

After interviewing these service men, it is clear to me that the problem of how one-tenth of our population, used by the other nine-tenths to fight a war, are to be rehabilitated will rank among our greatest problems in the years ahead. With the veterans mentally affected by the experiences of battle, demobilization will create problems demanding unusually skillful counsel and treatment.

The church must accept its responsibility in meeting the moral, social, and economic problems of those returning from war service. To discover how it is already beginning to meet this responsibility, I interviewed twelve clergymen in New Haven, Connecticut, and Cleveland, Ohio, all of whom have a special interest in discharged soldiers and sailors. Roger Waverly, Joe's minister, represents the point of view of these men.

JOE'S CHURCH MINISTERS TO SAILORS ON LEAVE

While Joe was in the Navy, his old home town was invaded each week end by Navy men stationed at a near-by submarine base. His minister soon discovered that the men who came to his church did not want to be singled out as a special group. They wanted to be treated as civilians and given a chance to take part in the program as they would have at home.

To reach the sailors, Roger Waverly's church issued a bulletin about its Sunday evening programs: "A short worship service and then a fellowship hour when things really

begin to happen—refreshments, games . . .” the bulletin read. One evening while the group played charades a sailor asked the minister to go with him into the sanctuary. In the darkness of the room the young man asked the minister to help him to pray.

After they had prayed, the boy began to pour out all the haunting questions in his mind: Was there a God who really cared about his fate? Did the world really want him to be good? Was its purpose goodness? Must there always be war? How could he conquer his fear of not being able to die bravely?

After the boy left, Mr. Waverly sat in the sanctuary thinking about his church. Why must an institution, holding profound and satisfying answers to the meaning of life and death, appeal to young people training for war on the basis of a “swell time to be had by all”? Entertainment, Mr. Waverly reasoned, must have a place in church life, but to put it before worship and service was to give these young men and women no answers to the deep and persistent questions about life and death that they face every day of their lives.

What had he said to these men before they left? Only during these recent years through earnest prayer and study had he reached clear convictions for himself on the relation of the church to war. His members had pressed him hard for answers to their questions about the war. Most of them had fought and supported it with heavy hearts and with honest searching for the means to end all war and build an enduring peace.

MR. WAVERLY JOINS A VETERANS' ORGANIZATION

Mr. Waverly found it hard enough to express his convictions in his church. But he did so and also was active in the veterans' organization that Joe joined when he returned. Mr. Waverly had been a private in World War I, but had lost interest in the Veterans of Foreign Wars' activities. Three weeks after the minister talked to the boy in the sanctuary, he began to go again to the V.F.W. meetings. Early in 1944 he was made the chaplain of the local post. Very soon Mr. Waverly was busy convincing other clergymen who had served in the armed forces as chaplains or fighters to become active in the American Legion and V.F.W. Potentially, he told them, these veterans' organizations are the nation's greatest political influence. They will be used for the good or detriment of the world depending upon the kind of leadership within them.

"Men such as Joe Hunter have a right to be bitter if the nation turns them out to sell apples after this war," said Mr. Waverly. "Some of the men talk tough. 'If we don't get what we were told we would, they can kiss their democracy good-by,' they have said in meetings. 'After the last war civilians at home said that nothing was too good for the soldiers and then left many of them to starve. We'll be waiting to see what the country does, waiting outside of every county and state and national legislature and every business and labor meeting.' If these men have to sell pencils on street corners, they will be bitter enough to follow anybody who offers salvation. For the first time in our nation's his-

tory, plans for demobilization have preceded the peace. But the victory over unemployment is still to be won. It will not come easily."

MAKING TWO PEOPLES INTO ONE

With twenty-two men back from the service, Mr. Waverly's church discovered that it must mold two groups into one—those who had seen action and those who had not. The church was doing this in part by giving the men a chance to speak out on the kind of church they needed. None of them had a clear, unified idea of what he wanted from the church, according to Mr. Waverly. Among them there had been no wave of foxhole conversions or of new religious insights. "Men who left with a deep religion drew more on it; the toughs got tougher and the indifferent more indifferent. Two of our men came back certain that they had known under fire the help of a Power beyond human strength. And Mr. Waverly, applying the test of St. Paul, believed them, for they had been brought by the experience closer to the life pattern of Christ.

The church board had called in a director of the Veterans' Bureau, government experts on veterans' education, and psychologists to prepare parents, wives, and sweethearts for the return of the men from war. "I remember Shirley Hunter asking one of the psychologists whether a wife should keep her veteran-husband's mind away from the war. She was surprised when the psychologist told her that men differ, and that civilians should let each man work out whether he wants to talk or be silent. Wives should neither

rush in asking to be told everything or try to direct all conversation away from the war."

Through transcriptions sent out by the denominational offices dramatizing soldiers' idealization of wives, home, and church, Shirley and Joe's parents were prepared for his natural let-down when he came back. Therefore, they were not disturbed by it. Shirley was scared at first, said Mr. Waverly, about Joe's return. She had seen in his letters how he had changed. In this case, it was Joe who had grown up, who had broken out of his provincialism and had become a self-reliant man. It was Shirley who needed new ideas and attitudes.

Joe's church organized a committee to help service men find work, an education committee to show them opportunities opened by the government for more schooling, and a church committee to help them find a place in the church. The church committee made a comprehensive survey of areas of service within the congregation and community for which Joe might volunteer.

Mr. Waverly encouraged the committees "just to be here in case the men want to use you." He believes the church must avoid two dangers—that of doing too little for the veteran and that of doing too much. Every institution now has a committee to help the veteran. The men who came after Joe were confused by the hundreds of helping hands extended. Mr. Waverly says one of the church's jobs is to do the work that other organizations forget or fail to do. It must keep an eye on men who seem reluctant to present just claims or who were so anxious to get out of the service that

they did not secure witnesses when still available in order to present legitimate claims.

Above all, Mr. Waverly wants his church to be more than a place where Joe comes for a "good time." He wants Joe to know what the church has done during this war to educate its members about their international responsibilities. He wants Joe to see that the church is seeking in many ways to make a courageous contribution to the establishment of the brotherhood of man in peace. Joe's minister wants him to know that unless he sacrifices in peace as he sacrificed in war, his home may again be threatened by war.

Mr. Waverly knows, and Joe must know, that what is said in their church about love ruling over hate and self-denial over selfishness must be practised in relationships with all people. Such a message may not be popular, but it is the strongest and most practical thing in the world.

Doc Winkum or Jesus Christ?

IN this book I have tried to describe projects accurately, report varied opinions as to their value, and be honest about my own conclusions. If my friend Smitty has read this far, he will be aware that I have hardly explained the church to him. But he will at least know some of the ways in which churches are practising Christianity as well as preaching it and some of the movements within the church that offer new hope of reaching the masses of American people where they live.

Obviously there are many worth-while experiments within the church, and many wide-scale programs that are beyond the experimental stage. If the reader thinks some of them are more valuable than others, he should give them his support, watch them closely to see how well they meet the needs of people and how he can use them in his own community.

Some churches are learning during this war to discard techniques that have failed, to use more fully those that have worked, and to draw more clearly the social and religious patterns emerging on mission fronts.

It is a mistake to think, however, that the war has changed the general course of organized religion in America. But its emergencies have called forth new and scattered bursts of imagination and energy that are taking a gospel of the mind and heart to the common man. The hope of the church lies neither in the groups that preach that "conversion" alone will save the world nor in the groups that have made "community organization" the central function of the church. The hope is in those churches that both (1) hold before man what the Christian faith believes to be the eternal truths about God and man, sin and salvation, and (2) speak directly and precisely to the actual needs of our time.

Technique is necessary, but never enough. The will to help others comes first. The Shaws, Richmonds, and Evans' of this book didn't calculate that religious work in terms of big, stable, neighborhood churches could not minister to migrant war workers who were not in one community long enough to support the old type of church and ministry. They first had a deep desire, born of their faith, to reach people on the move. And then they found the strategy to take Christianity where the people live.

We have seen what happens to cities and communities that become morally confused. And we have seen how well people can meet the problems of mass migration, poverty, loneliness, and racial discrimination when the moral will is strong within them. We have many names for the source of this moral will. Millions of people in America call it "the love of Christ."

Such religion cannot be departmentalized. One cannot

set a vital religion alongside labor, education, the press, science, and business as we do in our modern news magazines. For religion penetrates all of these in an effort to make the whole of life sacred. It converts the pursuit of unmitigated self-interest into service to the community.

BILLBOARD CHRISTIANITY

When I had completed my first summer's travel I started toward my home in Bethany, West Virginia, to try to re-think and to reorganize the material I had collected. As I drove, I watched the slogans on highway billboards. I remembered that as a freshman in college, I had the journalist's dream of how to "put over" Christianity. All I needed was the money for a massive advertising campaign. Instead of "Old Blatz—For Discriminating People," the billboards would read: "Christianity—For Discriminating People."

But I was a little wiser now. The Christians I had met on this trip discriminated against no one. I tried another ad: "Fox Beer—The World's Prize Winner." That, too, would have to be rejected in view of the Christians I had met on this trip. They were given no prizes; they asked for none.

How about the slogan for sparkplugs: "Saves Wear." "Try Christianity—It Saves Wear." But did it? The Shaws, the Evans', the Richmonds, the Christian men and women I had seen were wearing themselves out serving others. Then there was "All the Best People Use Hanovers." I tried that on Christianity: "All the Best People Use Christianity." What a slogan of plush pews and pious pontification! No,

the Christianity I had seen was not billboard stuff. It was too precious, too deep, too wonderful for that.

Then the words of the people I had interviewed began to march across my mind like the slogans of the billboards. "The only way to reach these people is to live, fight, and die with them." . . . "We have enough to do to look after our own people." . . . "We can't make a flophouse of the church." . . . "I'm staying here until my job is done." . . . "Young fellow, you are just beginning to find out what people will do for the love of Christ." . . . "Wanted: Woodcarvers and carpenters to build an altar." . . . "We have peace here fifteen minutes each day." . . . "Beans and religion; you can't separate them." . . .

In every town in America one could find a dozen stories to humble him with their mercy and sacrifice, and a dozen more to infuriate him with their ignorance and selfishness. Yet, if I had but one sentence in which to report the final impression of my trip it is this: This nation has in the Heinrichs, Edwards', Franklins, Shaws, Cranes, and Clarks, and in their faith, the moral resources to meet the problems of its time. In our villages and cities there are men and women who act from principle, not compulsion; who fight for the underdog from force of habit; and who are the conscience of their communities because they stand as humble men before their God.

The scenes of the places I had visited also streamed across my mind. I was in Potts' Camp, Mississippi, again, worshipping in a sharecroppers' church. On the right side of the pulpit was a sign: "Jesus Loves You." And on the other side,

the sign: "Use Doc Winkum's Blood Tonic, It's Good for You"—as if the church did not know which to follow. There clearly before me were the two opposing forces in American life. On the one hand—love, mercy, brotherhood, God. And on the other—cure-alls, hokum, ignorance, the products of man's selfish preying on his neighbor. Well, thank God, I was on the right side with the Richmonds, Cranes, Marstons, Sweets, and Shaws in this world. Given time, I would expose the Doc Winkums selling poor tonic, poor politics, poor religion. I would avenge all those sickly, pale migrant children I had seen, I said to myself as I slowed the car down to look tenderly at the familiar sights near my home town.

Then the thing happened for which some fourteen thousand miles had, by the grace of God, prepared me. Three children, carrying large dirty sacks, thumbed a ride. I stopped. Faces looked up at me more pale and pinched than any I had seen staring out from sharecropper and migrant shacks. Then I realized that I had gone thousands of miles to look at starvation and disease. I could have gone four miles or a block from where I had lived for twenty years. I was too ashamed to meet the children's eyes.

"Could you give us a lift, mister?" asked the oldest.

"Sure," I answered lamely. "What are you carrying?"

"Coal we picked up from that mine down the road," the boy replied. "Who are you?" he demanded, a look of suspicion coming over his face.

"I'm—I'm—just call me Doc Winkum," I said. "Could I help you put those sacks in the car?"

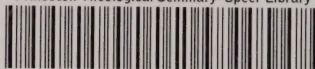
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